Staging Deviant Traditions:

The Politics of Folklore under the Iberian Fascist Regimes

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Abstract

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My dissertation asserts that folklore under the Iberian fascist regimes portrayed a distorted mirror of the peoples of the Iberian Peninsula. In this operation, social deviance was a key category for political folklore in order to address wider audiences. *Staging Deviant Traditions* argues that the Spanish Francoist regime (1936/39-1975) and the Portuguese Estado Novo (1933-1974) utilized folklorists and folk performers who deviated from the social identities privileged by fascism. These folk ensembles reified traditional dance and music while deliberately ignoring the popular communities that produced and circulated vernacular repertoires. This dissertation not only places the Iberian politics of folklore within the broader frame of interwar fascist cultural policies but also follows the evolution of these politics during the Cold War by focusing on three cases: the Coros y Danzas of Sección Femenina, the Bailados Portugueses Verde Gaio, and the Ballet Gallego Rey de Viana.

Staging Deviant Traditions begins by studying, in its Introduction, the politics of folklore under the Rome-Berlin Axis. Nazi Germany and fascist Italy massively institutionalized folklore through technology to control the narrative about the essence of the people and used tradition to construct a new fascist art through reactionary modernism. These experiences shaped the folklore of the time and inflected processes of traditional culture appropriation in the Iberian regimes, as explored in the three chapters that follow.

In Chapter 1, “Coros y Danzas and the Political-Affective Reinvention of the Folklorist Role,” I study how Sección Femenina, the female elite of the Spanish fascist party, and its work in the Coros y Danzas women’s troupes intervened in the folklore transmission circuit to make

themselves indispensable to the fascist government by recreating folklore, notwithstanding a regime that disavowed women's political agency. Establishing its members as folklore agents who researched and collected autochthonous music and dance, Coros y Danzas managed to appropriate that traditional repertoire according to a gendered vision of women as vessels of vernacular culture. Coros y Danzas transformed folklore into fetishized sentimental spectacle drawing on affects and emotions as social practice so that their reified productions became associated with them affectively and politically. These reified productions, performed outside Spanish borders, used folk music and dance to create a sentimental Spanish community that sought to overcome dissidence and generate acceptance of the dictatorship; this movement enabled the organization to further secure its own position within Francoism.

Chapter 2, "Verde Gaio: Queering Folk Dances for the Elite," centers on the Estado Novo's use of the Grupo de Bailados Portugueses Verde Gaio (1940-1983) as a cosmopolitan tool to promote a deceptive modernist image of the regime before select audiences. The head of the SPN/SNI (Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional, Secretariado Nacional da Informação), modernist intellectual António Ferro, aimed to create a state-owned ballet company following Ballets Russes' homoerotic art. He chose queer dancer Francis Graça, trained at the revue, as Verde Gaio's principal and choreographer. In preceding decades, the *Orpheu* intellectuals paved the way for queer modernism, and select artists were active in establishing the Verde Gaio. Despite the repression of sexual deviance under the Estado Novo, the Verde Gaio deployed queer aesthetic sensibilities and homoerotic images as a glamorous tool for diplomatic and domestic political affairs. At the same time, the Secretariado obliterated more vulgar sexual references in the vernacular repertoire, from which Verde Gaio took inspiration, while appearing to move with the times of cosmopolitan arts.

Finally, in Chapter 3, “Negotiating Subalternity: The Ballet Gallego Rey de Viana against Flamenco,” I trace how the folklore troupe Ballet Gallego Rey de Viana (1949-2006) instrumentalized the Celtic and the Galician matriarchal myths to guarantee Galician privileged position within Francoist cultural diplomacy. However, these topoi, promoted by Spanish centralist circles, contributed to deactivating Galician ambitions of political autonomy and fostering Spanish internal colonialism in Galiza. By inserting Galician vernacular culture within the Celtic community, Rey de Viana pursued securing a more European image of the regime abroad than the exoticized picture provided by flamenco as the Spanish national dance. Through this operation, Rey de Viana aspired to oust flamenco by portraying a desirable gendered image of Spain abroad while cementing the Galician subaltern position within Francoism.

Relying on diverse archival sources, such as correspondence, administrative documents, video footage, and newsclippings, *Staging Deviant Traditions* shows how Iberian fascist regimes depended on deviant social identities performing in folk ensembles so that reified music and dance traditions would become aesthetically and affectively associated with the dictatorships.

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Acknowledgments

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Introduction: The Fascist Politics of Folklore towards Deviance

"Nella tua incoscienza è la coscienza
che in te la storia vuole, questa storia
il cui Uomo non ha più che la violenza
delle memorie, non la libera memoria...
E ormai, forse, altra escelta non ha
che dare alla sua ansia di giustizia
la forza della tua felicità,
la luce di chi è ciò che non sa"

Pier Paolo Pasolini, "Il canto popolare," 1952-1953.

This dissertation revolves around the concept of folklore and how it was shaped under the Iberian fascist regimes influenced by the Rome-Berlin Axis. The Iberian dictatorships utilized folklore to convey a distorted image of the people based on their own reactionary principles. *Staging Deviant Traditions* also explores the identities of folklorists who put their bodies at the service of the dictatorships and how they deviated from normative identities imposed onto the population by fascist repressive policies.

Marxist thinker Antonio Gramsci defines the folksong not as a music repertoire produced by the people but rather as songs adopted by the people and circulated among them regardless of their authorship. In his view, the latter better represented their epistemologies, "il suo modo di concepire il mondo e la vita, in contrasto con la società ufficiale." Gramsci also stressed that people should never be identified as a homogeneous category, but otherwise as a determined historical collectivity marked by its isolation from official society ("Osservazioni sul folclore" 220-221). By contrasts, fascism replaced the concept of *people* (pueblo, povo, pobo) loaded with republican and socialist connotations with that of *tradition* (Núñez-Seixas 221). According to Raymond Williams, tradition is based on a way of life that originated in the past. Therefore,

tradition is “a deliberately selective and connecting process which offers a historical and cultural ratification of a contemporary order” (116). For Williams, tradition is the necessary gesture of the dominant classes to guarantee consensus; it is the historical sediment from which the counter-hegemonic elements have been erased throughout history.

Drawing on Williams, one might argue that tradition serves the interests of the dominant classes precisely because the popular classes can identify themselves with it, even when the disruptive potentialities of this cultural tradition have been deactivated, and the possibilities of political action to unfold have been diminished. Tradition is also invented to advance certain strategic ideas of the past that enable a continuation with practices of today, Eric Hobsbawm said. Tradition is a “classificatory process” that conspicuously builds asymmetries instrumental for maintaining social inequalities (Bauman and Briggs, *Voices of Modernity* 11). Because traditional wisdom has presumably been known since time immemorial and has no discrete origin, it is also used to legitimize power (Weber 135). All these notions of tradition as consensual, classificatory, and untraceable turn tradition and its aesthetics into a valuable resource for political purposes.

In the Iberian block, the notions of *intrahistoria* and *saudade* helped shape the intangible and eternal attributes of the Spanish and Portuguese cultural traditions, respectively. Miguel de Unamuno’s *intrahistoria* is based on the idea that despite the social, historical, and political changes that take place in a given society, there are immutable elements of the spirit that remain alive and latent in people throughout history: “silenciosa y continua como el fondo mismo del mar, es la sustancia del progreso, la verdadera tradición, la tradición eterna” (33). In the Portuguese case, similarly, the Saudosistas thought that the Portuguese spirit would remain the same despite material changes. Portuguese souls share something in common. Teixeira de

Pascoaes, the central figure of this literary trend of the 1910s, argued that he had already lived in Portugal at other historical junctures. For him, the intellectual was exceptionally equipped to experience *saudade*, a feeling that evoked recurring sentiments felt throughout epic moments in history. Thus, in my thesis, I explore how Southern fascisms utilized cultural agents who could enact a tradition based on the eternal essence of Spain or Portugal. In order to do so, the regimes fabricated a syncretic folklore relying on bodies that entailed some form of social, sexual, and cultural deviance, to allow them access to wider parts of the society.

Hence, I focus on three case studies: that of the Coros y Danzas de Sección Femenina, the women's section of the Spanish fascist party, Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las JONS (Chapter 1); the theatrical dance company Bailados Portugueses Verde Gaio, whose most relevant figure was queer dancer and choreographer Francis Graça (Chapter 2); and the Ballet Gallego Rey de Viana, embedded in Galician regional and minority ethnic culture (Chapter 3). These troupes relied on vernacular music and dances despite the people that reproduce and circulate this repertoire in rural areas. As a result, these folklore ensembles became affectively associated with a type of folklore that, regardless of its reification, the people could emotionally identify as their own.

At the same time, their deviance became instrumental in the dictatorship. On the one hand, they had access to spheres and imaginaries closed to official institutions, such as traditional female roles, homosocial and queer aesthetics, and minority ethnic expressions. On the other hand, by becoming representatives of the fascist regimes, these deviant bodies conveyed a more sympathetic image of the dictatorships, challenging foreign criticism of rights violations and authoritarian censorship, particularly during the Cold War period. Instead, these deviant bodies, no doubt under rigid forms of control, staged a certain openness while performing reified

traditional repertoires, easily recognizable to the tourist gaze. Thus, they were deviant and they were fascist fellow travelers and collaborators at the same time.

Moreover, in the particular case of folklore and folk agents such as Coros y Danzas, and especially as applicable to folk choreographers Francis Graça and José Manuel Rey de Viana, taxonomical notions of subalternity and privilege are relativized. Institutional intervention into a folk culture, Ana María Ochoa argues in the case of music, has often been carried out by volunteers who lacked public recognition, while at the same time they were committed to sonic localisms and national projects:

> This 'undisciplined practice' complicated any clear politico-epistemological distinction between the intellectual as a privileged figure in the constitution of a cultural public sphere or, to the contrary, as a subaltern figure whose possibilities of articulation into broad nationalistic agendas were often fragmentary. In other words, their practice of folkloristics was deeply embedded in a politics of intervention that sought to reorganize the practices and signification of the sonic but this did not necessarily imply a privileged location as an intellectual in the public sphere. (395)

My dissertation's folklorists and folk performers did not enjoy political power as public figures. In fact, their peers and other Francoist and Salazarist institutions often questioned their locus of enunciation. However, this dialectic condition also propelled them to further navigate different cultural realms representing various social classes and addressing diverse social tastes. I assert that their deviation from social identities favored by the Iberian fascist regimes was of political value for the dictators when using folklore before select audiences.

I begin this dissertation by inserting the Iberian politics of folklore in the field of fascism studies. Placing the Southern dictatorships of Francisco Franco (1936/39-1975) and the Estado

Novo (1933-1974) within the overarching term of fascism contributes to understanding these regimes as part of a contingent phenomenon that emerged in the interwar period, as well as its conditions of possibility.[1] Furthermore, including the Iberian Peninsula in the historiographical debates about interwar fascism also enriches discussions on the topic while avoiding monolithic and reified definitions of fascism as an umbrella concept.

Syncretic Folklore in the Rome-Berlin Axis

In fascist Italy (1922-1943), folklore became the focus of a growing visual culture when, in 1927, the state-owned film company Instituto Nazionale Luce produced *La Sentinella della Patria* (Chino Ermacora, 1927). After the first scenes dedicated to the sites marked by the violence of the First World War, the camera focuses on a couple dancing the *furlana* (36:05-36:40), a typical courtship dance from the Friuli region in Northeast Italy, before the gaze of their neighbors and relatives. The documentary further shows the wedding customs of the nuptial mass and the reception, with more traditional dances in a jovial setting (see Image 1). *La Sentinella della Patria* constitutes one of the earlier attempts in fascist Italy to link vernacular productions to the rural domain and agricultural activities reified by cinematographic technology. The organization in charge of workers' leisure and recreation, Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro, made sure the film reached all the corners of Italy until the reel disappeared in 1928 (Taillibert 212).[2] After that, many folk dances, even from different parts of the world, were recorded by the newsreel *Giornale Luce.* As a result of this and other endeavors of Mussolini's regime, Italian journalist and fascist supporter Amy Bernardy (1879-1959) celebrated the renascence of regional

[1] The Estado Novo was preceded by the conservative Ditadura Nacional (1926-1933), after the May 28th, 1926 coup d'etat. Salazar was part of this earlier dictatorship as prime minister from 1932 to 1933.
[2] The film was found again in 1996 in Yervant Gianikian and Angela Ricci Lucchi's archives and restored, resulting in the current 47-minutes film available now at the online webpage, Archivio Luce.

cultures. “Uno dei più interessanti fenomeni della vitalità italiana rinfrancata dal Fascismo,” she observed,

> è la rinascita regionale, che nel rinovamento delle energie nazionali si può paragonare alla gioia della vita che rifiorisce e si afferma nel convalescente se tiene alla esistenza, quando sente rinascere in sè la forza viatale . . . . Per troppo tempo l’Italia non aveva potuto guardarsi e tornarsi a pensare in questo modo, sia perchè si temeva che lo spirito di regionalità potesse deformarsi in campanilismo o degenerare in separatismo da una parte, sia perchè si aveva paura di sembrare provinciali e antiquati dall’altra. (Bernardy, *Rinascita regionale* 7)

Image 1. Frame from *La Sentinella della Patria,* 1927, photography by Attilio Brisighelli. Courtesy of the Civici Musei di Udine /La Cineteca del Friuli.

In *Rinascita regionale* (1930), Bernardy tried to obliterate urban imageries of a folk culture marked by "campanilismo" ("parochialism") and aspirations of sovereignty.[3] Bernardy praised a glamourization that detached the folk output from the people who produced it. In *Rinascita* as well as in the first issue of specialized folklore journal *Lares*, of June 1930, Bernardy gestures towards a paradigm shift in the conception of folklore within Mussolini's Italy. As the journalist suggests, the folk-inspired activities carried out by Dopolavoro demonstrated how Italian fascism bound its political institutions to a fragmented notion of what they deemed folk culture.

Lares was launched following the creation of the Comitato Nazionale per le Tradizioni Popolari, in 1929, of which Bernardy was a member as well. Her chronicle in the first issue enthusiastically listed the initiatives taken under the Italian fascist regime. Through deliberate administrative efforts, Mussolini's government provided tools for the study and conservation of folklore and disseminated it through institutions such as the above-mentioned Dopolavoro: "vediamo con gioia come l'Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro si appoggia sempre più largamente per le sue manifestazione estetiche, visive, musicali, danzanti, agli elementi della tradizione e dell'arte paesana" ("Cronache" 52).

Tracing back the origins of the fascist politics of folklore, historian Victoria de Grazia suggests that Dopolavoro's focus on folklore responds to intellectual Giovanni Gentile's influence on fascist cultural policy. Following Gentile's ideas, the division of high and low culture was reinforced by separating elite and popular institutions (*The Culture of Consent* 187-188). By the end of the 1920s, Dopolavoro had created a department dedicated to folklore whereby the institution promoted the use of regional costumes, folk dances, and music, as well as

[3] According to Victoria de Grazia, regionalism had political connotations. It was first associated with "the divisions that had obstructed the Risorgimento" and became, later, a democratic federalist proposal or even a proposal for decentralization (*The Culture of Consent* 214).

the celebration of ceremonies and local festivities, which suffered an "aggiornamento" ("update") under their direction (Cavazza, *Piccole patrie* 101-102; 110). Dopolavoro relied on the collaboration of folklore dilettanti and autodidacts without any academic methodological training, and these in turn collaborated with the regime in search of recognition (103). Yet the work of the leisure organization was praised in 1932 by the world-renowned science magazine *Nature*, reviewing a publication by the director of Dopolavoro, Enrico Beretta, *Costumi, musica, danze e feste popolari italiane* (1931). The book review congratulates the Dopolavoro for animating the study of customs through festivals and "competitions for dialect songs," the revival of people's instruments such as "pipes and bagpipes of the Abruzzi" and local costumes (321-322). Overall, there was a sense of novelty in rescuing vernacular productions under fascism.

But it was not only the Dopolavoro that promoted the preservation of folklore; women, in particular, have conventionally borne the burden of passing on traditions, as in the case of the *Massai Rurali*, a peasant-women's organization within the female branch of the Partito Nazionale Fascista (Fasci Femminile). Most of their activities revolved around the fascist revival of folklore. They participated in mass rallies and other public spectacles displaying their regional dress and performing alleged traditional dances while also selling their handicrafts (Willson 157).[4] Under Mussolini, folklore was instrumentalized to address different social strata producing a sense of pervasiveness.

In 1931, on the occasion of the II Congresso nazionale delle tradizioni popolari, which took place in the city of Udina (Friuli), linguistics professor Pier Gabriele Goidanich proposed

[4] Perry Willson, nonetheless, argues that the visit of the *massaie* to the urban spaces might have the opposite effect as desired by the regime, i.e., the embracement of a traditional Italy. By contrast, she speculates that they "got repeated opportunities to view the relative delights of the urban world" (159).

the creation of a Fonofilmoteca Internazionale Linguistico-Folkloristica in charge of "raccogliere sistematicamente col fonofilm, e conservare *per sempre* in un fonofilmoteca saggi dialettali di tutti i linguaggi del mondo e ogni paese di quanto può interessare il folklore (usi, costumi, danze, canzoni, cantilene, instrumenti, utensili, attività particolari casalinghe e rurali) e può interessare l'etnografia" (11; emphasis in the original). In short, Goidanich wanted to archive rural epistemologies from around the globe and place them on Italian soil under fascist custody. The folk institution dedicated to the systematic collection and classification of vernacular productions worldwide would have its headquarters in Italy under the *Duce*'s auspices and his controlling censorship. This idea—never fulfilled—nurtured the mirage of fascist Italy as being the archive of the world's folk heritage thanks to Lee de Forest's phonofilm system allowing for synchronous film sound.[5]

Lares also showcases the collaborations between the Axis's powers in the terrain of folklore. The relationship between Germany and Italy intensified after 1935, as both countries strengthened their political relations. Thus, in June 1939, *Lares* announced an exchange with the German specialized folklore journal *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* ("*Folklore Diary*").[6] Each publication would dedicate a special issue to the other's folk culture, with translated texts. According to the article, this exchange was merely part of a lasting collaboration between German and Italian researchers that started with Romanticism and the study of Italian folktales by German folklorists ("Per la conoscenza" 175-176).

[5] See Leo Enticknap's "De Forest Phonofilms" for an insight on De Forest's contribution to the film industry.
[6] In line with Regina Bendix's study on German folklore, *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* was "Germany's most prestigious folklore journal" (159).

The *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, founded in 1929 by professor of German Karl Weinhold, preceded and survived the Third Reich (1929-present).[7] It became the publication of the Verband Deutscher Vereine für Volkskunde (League of German Societies for Folklore),[8] established in 1920 by folklorist Adolf Strack. Under the Nazi regime (1933-1945), it came out annually from 1933 to 1940. The journal enjoyed the collaboration of folklorists, including Reich Educational Ministry Heinrich Harmjanz, Kiel *Volkskunde* professor Gustav Friedrich Meyer, Leipzig *Volkskunde* professor Bruno Schier or Teacher Education Academy at Frankfurt Herbert Freudenthal, all of them close to the Forschungs- und Lehrgemeinschaft 'Das Ahnenerbe' (Research and Teaching Community 'The Ancestral Inheritance') of the Reichführer-SS and Gestapo leader Heinrich Himmler.[9] After the reorganization of Weimarian folk institutions under Nazi supervision, Himmler's Ahnenerbe and Reich Leader Alfred Rosenberg's Amt Rosenberg stood out as responsible for outlining the connection between German *Volkskunde* (folklore) and the principles of *Nationalsozialismus*.[10] In that way, the Nazis and the folklorists at their service kidnapped folklore for their own ideological purposes, creating and rearranging institutions that could provide an intellectual framework to legitimate their racial discourses with an aura of authenticity.

For example, in the *Zeitzschrift*'s first issue (1933/1934) after the Nazi seizure of power, there is an example of how a certain notion of folklore could interlock with the racist precepts of

[7] Following the war, editors Helmut Dölker and Bruno Schier claim in the first issue to inaugurate a new beginning for the *Volkskunde* discipline "based upon an international and comparative perspective" (Stein 163).
[8] After the Second World War they erased the "German" adjective as Verband der Vereine für Volkskunde.
[9] For a list of folklorists working with Himmler see Lixfeld 98-99.
[10] Dienstelle des Beauftragten des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der Nationalsozialistischen Deutschen Arbeierpartei (Office of the Fürhrer's Commissioner for the Supervision of All Intellectual and World view Schooling and Education of the NSDAP), also knwon as the Amt Rosenberg (Rosenberg Bureau). The two organizations were at odds with each other, competing to gain power within the Third Reich, keeping archival material under their domain—such as the fight between Heinrich Harmjanz (Himmler's Ahnenerbe) and Matthes Ziegler (Amt Rosenberg) to control the *Atlas der Deutschen Volkskunde*— and embodying different notions of *Volkskunde* (see Lixfeld, *Volkskunde* 105-120).

the Third Reich by Herbert Freudenthal.[11] There, Herbert Freudenthal wrote an extensive analysis ("'Mein Kampf' als politische Volkskunde der deutschen Gegenwart auf rassischer Grundlage," or in English, "'Mein Kampf' as political folklore of present day Germany from a racial perspective") on how Hitler's manifesto *Mein Kampf* had masterfully engaged with German historical folklore to build a new image of the German nation.[12] Although Freudenthal's connection between Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and the scholarly *Volkskunde* is not obvious—he admittedly asserts that the word *Volkskunde* does not appear in the whole book—he also stresses that political folklore had to rest on three conditional elements: soil (space), blood (race), and history ("Boden (Raum), Blut (Rasse) und Gesischte" 123-124), all of which were scrutinized and defined in Hitler's book.[13] Freudenthal sees Hitler's remembrance of how the swastika flag became a symbol of community-building in budding Nazism as a practical example of political folklore ("politische Volkskunde"). Likewise, Freudenthal hopes that Germans can alienate themselves from the ordinary everyday life by embracing communal symbols that endure and promote togetherness through political folklore (129).[14]

According to Hermann Bausinger's analysis of *Volkskunde* under National Socialism, the Nazi folklorists emphasized that "[t]he organic construction of a complete folk personality and the constant emphasis on the entire populace gave the individual a transcendent feeling of fulfillment" ("Folk Ideology" 21). Bearing in mind Martin Heidegger's notion of *Eigentlichkeit*

[11] Freudenthal was rehabilitated after the Second World War as a folklorist (Bendix 166).
[12] My translation; henceforth, all translations from Freudenthal's text are mine.
[13] Concerning Freudenthal's publication of this essay along with "Volkskunde und Nationalerziehung: Zur Geschichte ihrer Beziehungen" ("Folklore and National Education: On the History of their Relationship"), in *Volkskunde-Arbeit: Zielsetzung und Gehalte,* scholar Mary Beth Stein casts him as an "opportunistic 'fellow traveller' [of Nazism], eager to place the discipline within the mainstream of political movements" (165).
[14] The Amt Rosenberg made similar approaches to understanding folklore through the lenses of Rosenberg's dogmatic pamphlet *Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts. Eine Wertung der seelischgeistigen Gestaltenkämpfe unserer Zeit* (The Mythus of the Twentieth Century: An Evaluation of the Soul-Spiritual Struggles of Our Age), published in 1930. See Lixfeld (65-76) for analysis of Rosenberg's *Mythus* and its relationship to Germanic folklore.

("authenticity"), according to which an "authentic" existence escapes from everydayness in search for a purer notion of the self,[15] one can argue that political folklore was less concerned with the renewal of traditions, and more with what might emotionally bring the German people together under Nazism. Or, as historian George Mosse puts it, "Nationalism was not only supposed to free the nation, it was also supposed to free each individual soul so that it could unite with the Volk and become truly creative" (*The Nationalization* 103). In order to establish specific parameters around folklore, the Nazi party kept for itself the role of "interpreter of the folk" (Bausinger, "Folk-National Work" 90), and the German term *Volk* entailed much more than the English *people* as it referred to "the union of a group of people with a transcendental 'essence.' This 'essence' might be called 'nature' or 'cosmos' or 'mythos,' but in each instance, it was fused to man's innermost nature" (Mosse, *The Crisis* 4).

The emphasis on examples transcending the mundane condition of everyday life, as in Freudenthal's article, led to folk policies that privileged "authentic, characteristic, and valuable" folklorists who could trace practical connections between *Volkskunde* and National Socialism rather than scientific experts of the field (Bausinger, "Folk-National Work" 90). Thus, authenticity rested neither on scientific evidence nor on antiquity but rather on the folklorists' capacity to invigorate folklore with practicality in the time of the Third Reich. Bausinger believes that traditional folklore merely "offered basic ideological elements for the reshaping of folklife" as there was not respectable research done on the scholarly *Volkskunde* during National

[15] In Heidegger's complex jargon (to use Adorno's criticism), the Self of everyday Dasein (being there) is called *they Self*, in turn differentiated from the *authentic Self*: "As they-self, the particular Dasein has been *dispersed* into the 'they,' and must find itself.... If Dasein discovers the world in its own way [eigens] and brings it close, if it discloses to itself its own authentic Being, then this discovery of the 'world' and this disclosure of Dasein are always accomplished as a clearing away of concealments and obscurities, as a breaking up of the disguises with which Daseins bars its own way" (167; italics in the original). Thus, the authentic Self might be searched of since the Being "*in its everyday kind of Being*" is where it disguises (168).

Socialism (94).[16] Similarly, in fascist Italy, Enrico Beretta, Dopolavoro's president, conceived of folklore as a possibility for the masses to realize "their own unique individuality," as folk productions would allow the people to express "their true natural emotions: 'jubilation, exaltation, rejoicing, contrition, faith, sometimes fanaticism, as well as satire" (qtd. in De Grazia, *The Culture of Consent* 202). For Stefano Cavazza, fascists ascribed ideas of atemporality to folklore in order to create an illusion of escaping the rapid changes brought about by modernity, placing on a pre-industrial notion of folklore "la funzione di antitesi del mondo reale, di negazione transitoria del presente" (*Piccole patrie* 97). Both regimes aspired to create folklore that offered a spiritual space of transcendence as a symbol of the people's essence while neglecting the social conditions that enabled the existence of that folklore in the first place—i.e., the material needs for craftsmanship and the leisure that made folk festivities possible.[17]

Postwar folklorists in Germany have built a genealogy of the discipline since the Romantic era as marked by the iteration of racial ideas, which laid the groundwork for Nazi appropriation. In 1965, folklorist Hermann Bausinger published in the *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* what then became a foundational article of the postwar *Volkskunde* discipline, "Volksideologie und Volksforschung. Zur nationalsozialistischen Volkskunde" ("Folk ideology and Folk research, on National Socialist Folklore"). There, he calls for reexamining the ideas that permeated folk ideology during the first decades of the twentieth century, especially among amateur circles: "a strongly nationalistic element, a preoccupation with race, the equation of

[16] Along with Strobach's, this text was gathered and translated to English by James R. Dow and Hannjost Lixfeld in the volume *The Nazification of an Academic Discipline. Folklore in the Third Reich* (1994). They firstly appeared in the biannual congress of the *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Volkskunde* (German Folk Society), celebrated in Munich from October 23rd to 25th, 1986. The specific topic of this congress was devoted to "Volkskunde und Nagtionalsocialismus," and, according to scholar James R. Dow, it became "a momentous event in the history of German folklore scholarship" (300).

[17] Conversely, authenticity has also become a keyword to explore radical notions of individualism as personal authenticity, as shown in Marshall Berman's *The Politics of Authenticity*.

Nordic with Germanic, glorification of the peasant, an organic conception of society, a search for symbols, and a quasi-religious quality" (Stein 170). By the same token, Hermann Strobach interrogated the influences of nineteenth-century folklorist Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl in the discipline's *état de l'art* before 1933,[18] suggesting that during the 1920s and 1930s, "German *Volkskunde* as a whole maintained its deeply conservative perspective of society and set its goals accordingly, particularly in reference to peasant culture and living standards and to urban areas and the working class. It was exactly this conservative perspective . . . which finally led to that direct matchup with the new ruling powers after the fascist takeover" (60).

Turn-of-the-century discourses distinguished between the German communal being and non-Germanic and Nordic others, establishing a continuity between their view of folklore as the eternal bearer of the communal life and that of the National Socialist folklore circles. Lixfeld introduces National Socialist *Volkskunde* as a discipline that "took traditional folklore ideologies, raised them to hypertrophy, and by means of state-sanctioned changes adapted them into products of fascist scholarship and everyday practice" ("Fascist Volkskunde" 65). Regina Bendix in her search for a genealogy of "authenticity" states that Romantic nationalists had already sought the purity of race. For the Nazis, folklore became a tool to prove their own belief in the racial component as a source of cultural differences with other peoples (163-164). Nazism only needed to harvest what folklorists had been seeding in different times and forms since the conception of Romantic folklore by Johann Gottfried Herder in the eighteenth century.[19]

[18] Historian George L. Mosse has argued that Riehl's views about the relationship between land and people, the latter as organically belonging to nature, might be considered part of the intellectual origins of National Socialist thought (*The Crisis* 19).

[19] Philosopher and folklorist Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) was interested in linguistics, language and poetic traditions as the distinctive expressions of a people. Unlike other Enlightened thinkers, such as John Locke, Herder believed that *Besonnenheit,* which gathered "feelings, reason, will," was the quality that makes us humans (Bauman and Briggs, *Voices of Modernity* 192-193).

However, during the Third Reich, folklore was not only researched; it was also performed. And so, just as the National Socialist *Volkskunde* was based on work previously done by bourgeois institutions, the Nazi organization Bund Deutscher Mädel (League of German Girls), founded in 1930, also drew inspiration from the *fin-de-siècle Wandervogel.*[20] The *Wandervogel* youth movement responded to "economic, political, and social change in Germany" by proposing the return of young people to nature (Anderson 3). Among their activities, they collected rural instrumental and vocal music, as well as instruments, literary creations, and dances (5). The *Wandervogel*'s repertoire survived the Nazi era through the Bund Deutscher Mädel's occupations. During the *Land Dienst* (service in the field) camps, while working on farms collaborating with domestic chores and helping to raise children, the League's girls reserved some time to perform folk dances and songs (31).[21] As in the Italian case with Dopolavoro, popular-based organizations of the working classes or peasants were preferable for conveying national folklore. The Bund Deutscher Mädel, as a second-tier women's organization, was therefore suitable for performing folklore, although elitist Joseph Goebbels had given limited value to the genre: "folk dancing was little more than a window-dressing for [Goebbels'] Propaganda Ministry" (Karina and Kant 87). As folklore institutions flourished under the Nazi and fascist regimes, they also organized themselves hierarchically according to a blatant division of social classes while erasing or transforming earlier and more equitable folk institutions. The fascist approaches to folklore resonated in the Iberian regimes of Francisco Franco in Spain and António de Oliveira Salazar in Portugal. In Spain, the Coros y Danzas of Sección Femenina, and, in Portugal, the Mocidade Feminina Portuguesa—both of which resembled the Italian Fasci

[20] The emergence of this type of society, such as the *Wandervogel*, must be understood against the backdrop of a neo-romantic wave in Germany at the turn of the century (see Partsch-Bergsohn 25).
[21] Sometimes, folksong lyrics were written in German dialects (52).

Femminile and the German Bund Deutscher Mädel—were in charge of disseminating folklore through dance.[22]

Prior to the Nazi and fascist seizure of power, the League of Nations, born from the ashes of the First World War, carried out its own initiative to revive popular arts. As part of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation (1921-1954), a group of intellectuals founded the International Commission of Popular Arts (1926-1938). In Prague 1928, the International Commission set some basic standards for the collection and documentation of a) fine and decorative arts, b) music and folk songs, and c) dramatic performances, courtship rituals, public festivities, dances, and the like. In the case of music, the Commission's experts recommended approaching the "document vivant: le chanteur ou groupe de chanteurs, l'instrumentiste ou groupe d'instrumentistes, le danseur ou groupe de danseurs." And when this was not possible, phonograms and other types of notation were favored (11).

As a result of this initiative, *Musique et Chanson Populaires,* published in 1934, gathered the international answer to the experts' call, and a second volume *Folklore Musical* came to life in 1939.[23] After the first volume's release, in 1936, composer Béla Bartók, himself a member of the International Commission, celebrated the project. At the same time, he scrupulously pinpointed the lack of a suitable editor for the publication, the absence of a scientific principle to approach the repertoires with some uniformity, and lastly the unknown of whether the bibliography was categorized on the basis of linguistic or political borders (Bartók 97-98).

[22] For the Spanish case, see Toni Morant i Ariño, for Portuguese case, see Irene Flunser Pimentel (306). Moreover, other folk exchanges took place between the FNAT (Fundação Nacional para a Alegria no Trabalho) and its German analogous institution the *Kraft durch Freude* (KdF), through *ranchos folclóricos*'s performances (Holton da Costa 37).

[23] Among the contributions to this second volume, one can find so opposing folklorists such as Marius Schneider—who later became folklorist under the Spanish fascist regime, researching folksongs on behalf of the German delegation (see Chapter 1), and Jesús Bal y Gay, who fled the Spanish dictatorship for his political opinions, on behalf of the Spanish one (see Chapter 3).

Bartók's response to the publication reveals the extent to which folklore was taken seriously as a source of intellectual knowledge and as an artistic asset before the fascist takeover. Moreover, as I will explore in the following chapters, focus on regional groups from countrywide perspectives was neither new nor exclusive to the fascist years, although this approach survived the collapse of the Axis powers.[24] Regional cultures and local dialects also became objects of Nazi and fascist interest—not free of controversy—as presumed ways to discover the essence of their greater fatherland. In Italy, poet Ardengo Soffici exemplified this conception through the notion of *toscanità* (from Toscani) as evidence of "spiritual regeneration" in Italy (Antliff 157-158).

The activities carried out by the International Commission from 1928 until its disappearance in the mid-1930s, due to lack of cooperation on both the German and Italian side,[25] contradict fascist and Nazi narrative accounts of the moribund state of folklore before their rise to power. For Theodor Adorno, the blooming of nationalistic *fin-de-siècle* music contributed to the delving into "uncomprehended idioms not processed by the reified Western music system" led by avant-gardist musicians such as Bartók. However, this "did not last": "Reactionary implications of folklorism, notably its hostility to differentiation and subjective autonomy, prevailed. What was a masked ball in the nineteenth century, a kind of ideological drapery, prepares in folklorism for the bloody fascist earnest of a musical state of mind that tramples on universality and barbarically imposes its own limits" (Adorno 166). Fascism appropriated folklore that it understood as monolithic and atemporal while erasing or deliberately ignoring projects and institutions dealing with unattainable and illegible folk "idioms" previous to their advent to power.

[24] In the 1950s, liberal scholars such as László Vajda still considered regional groups' ethnic particularities to be paradigmatic of the national character of an entire people (Dègh 38).
[25] When Italy withdrew from the League of Nations, the International Commission of Popular Arts president was an Italian, Emilio Bodrero, who had to resign due to his country's international policies (Sibille 7).

The folk repertoire was often the object of various forms of Nazi plunder. That was the case of the Weimarian project to collect and store German vernacular production called the *Atlas der deutschen Volkskunde* (AVD, in English *Atlas of German Folklore*). When the *Atlas* first came out in 1928, a certain geologist by the name of P. Gauss cast the project as "a fundamental work of German folklore" ("ein Fundamentalwerk der deutschen Volkskunde"), based on a carefully done questionnaire and an inventory of spiritual and material folk goods ("geistigen und materiellen Volksgutes" 490). The *Atlas* had been managed by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG, German Research Community), founded in 1920, and supervised by the already-mentioned League of German Societies for Folklore. From Berlin, where the DFG had its headquarters, its members sent questionnaires to 30 regional officers to gather information about German-speaking folklore in Europe (Lixfeld, "The Deutsche" 99). However, such efforts were commandeered by the Nazis, and the *Atlas* ended up in the hands of folklorist Heinrich Harmjanz at the service of Himmler's Ahnenerbe. Harmjanz published the first maps, taking credit for the work by bourgeois folklorist Adolf Spamer,[26] and omitting the work done by a series of scholars for almost a decade (Lixfeld "Fascist *Volkskunde*" 109).

The idea of capturing, taming, or exerting control over something that is fluid and changeable, as cultures are, always implies a loss. This loss was the result of the Axis powers technological development. In 1940, the German company Allgemaine Electrizitäts-Gesellschaft (AEG) in collaboration with Badische Anilin und Soda Fabrik (BASF), and with the state-sponsored radio broadcast Reich-Rundfunk-Gesellschaft (ERG) introduced to the Berlin press

[26] According to Teresa Brinkel, Spamer's concept of *Volkskunde* rests upon "religion, speech, customs, tales, stories, reading matter, plays, songs, and art of the folk, as well as any 'flavors' and 'ideological attitudes' associated with them." This definition eventually framed National Socialist approach to the discipline (142). Furthermore, his psychological-driven perspective led him to establish "group spirituality" (*Gruppengeistigkeit*) based on his observations of material and spiritual artifacts (see Bendix 116).

the magnetophone, a sound recording device much improved from Thomas Edison's phonograph. This technological discovery paved the way for Nazi propaganda programs to edit and delete sound recordings as they liked: "fragments of spoken language and ambient sound from different times and places could be seamlessly joined together to create entirely new wholes with radically different meanings and affective powers" (Whitney 520). Such new technologies allowed for acoustic erasure of earlier sound materials, creating new ways of listening to sounds and silences. For Sterne, "[s]ound-reproduction technologies are artifacts of vast transformations in the fundamental nature of sound, the human ear, the faculty of hearing, and practices of listening that occurred over the long nineteenth century" (2).

Thus, technology—not only tape-recordings but also phonofilm, radio, or cinema—fostered a change in the way people related to folklore. According to Walter Benjamin, reproductive technology, be it photographs or sound recordings, afford the masses the opportunity to conceive of themselves through reproduction: "[f]ascism seeks to give them *expression* in keeping these [property] relations unchanged. *The logical outcome of fascism is an aestheticizing of political life*" ("The Work of Art" 41). Yet technology was not only a means to reflect the masses for their own self-contemplation; it was also a means to reproduce the subaltern in distorted mirrors and cacophonic echoes. The Nazis' technological ability to tame voices, ambient sounds, and music, and to broadcast them through new devices, channeled fragmented vernacular sounds through their unified net of massive propaganda. Nazism and fascism used technology to silence discordant voices while amplifying compliant others. And so, when applied to the vernacular repertoire, technology contributed to creating a spot in the Habermasian public sphere for some types of folklore displays while censoring and not recording

others.[27] This sinister projection and broadcast of mainly rural dwellers as the bearers of cultural traditions contributed to industrially distorting their own perception of themselves and their ways of relating to the world. These regimes left for the people a history that is only "violenza delle memorie, non la libera memoria...," as Pasolini lamented (18).

Along these lines, Adorno considered musical notation another form of erasure: "Notation wants music to be forgotten, in order to fix it and to cast it into identical reproduction, namely the objectivation of the gesture which for all music barbarian cultures martyrs the eardrum of the listener. The eternization of music through notation contains a deadly moment: what it captures becomes irrevocable" (qtd. in Mazzola 118). Technical objectivation occurs at the expense of distorting sounds and vernacular cultures. Or, as Baumann and Briggs put it when theorizing about the politics of inequality that the notation system entails, "entextualization" is a process of channeling the discourse and transforming it into a unit (a text) extractable from its interactional setting ("Poetics and Performance" 73-76). As an extractable entity folklore is void of the context and the material conditions that entail its production.

The Nazi-fascist politics of folk entextualization and reproduction included its overwhelming institutionalization with a hint of either racial or "essential" roots. The Rome-Berlin Axis devoted itself to creating a solid network of institutions (e.g., museums, libraries, archives, research institutes, leagues, journals, publishers, and the like) dedicated to studying and consecrating folklore. According to Benjamin George Martin, fascism challenged the liberal West's hegemony in the cultural field, sending a message to Europe: "Unlike their materialist rivals, fascist Italy and Nazi Germany 'considered cultural questions to be as important as political and economic questions'" (76). However, Christa Kamenetsky calls into question the

[27] Broadly speaking, the public sphere is the realm of social life where citizens participate to form public opinion.

idea that the National Socialist Party had propelled the study of German and Nordic-Germanic folklore on an unprecedented scale: "aside from the fact that this happened at the expense of international folklore studies, the prevailing attitude of relativism did not permit an interest in the subject for its own sake. . . .Throughout the Nazi movement, folklore remained an effective and potentially dangerous tool of the National Socialist *Weltanschauung*" ("Folklore as Political" 234-235). But in any case, the institutionalization of folklore under fascist Italy and Nazi Germany spilled over into other fascist regimes, also in search of an ontology of authenticity. In the case of the Iberian block, in 1945, the Francisco Franco and António de Oliveira Salazar's dictatorships jointly created the Centro de Estudios de Etnología Peninsular, led by Rector of University of Porto, Amândio Tavares, and the Spanish consul in this city, José de Eric. Through this institution, they aimed at anthropologically identifying the "peninsular man" ("o Homem Peninsular") (Cátedra 13-14).

The Rome-Berlin Axis manufactured a syncretic form of fascist folklore strongly dependent on institutions and instrumental in propagating a discourse of authenticity. Syncretism, the term defined by Victoria de Grazia,[28] stemmed from the fusion of traditions (some of them religious) and fascist celebrations that the political apparatus embroiled in monumental aesthetics. But syncretic folklore also rested upon a long process of institutionalization in the folklore field previous to the fascist takeover. Richard Bauman and Charles Briggs reveal that institutions and folklore specialists became more and more important from the nineteenth century onwards as museums and academic departments expanded "claiming

[28] Victoria de Grazia talks about "syncretism" when describing the celebration of the Festa of San Roco with "an unusual procession comprised of soldiers bearing standards and pikes, armored mace-bearers and pages, followed by ecclesiastics in full ceremonial dress chanting the psalms" (*The Culture of Consent* 212). It refers to bending and combinations of different traditions, including the fascist and the Catholic ones.

authority over the production, circulation, and interpretation of authentic and authoritative texts" (*Voices of Modernity* 253-254).

Referring to the current phenomenon of memory institutionalization, Andreas Huyssen has written: "[I]n this prominence of academic 'mnemohistory,' memory and musealization together are enlisted as bulwarks against obsolescence and disappearance, to counter our deep anxiety about the speed of change and the ever shrinking horizons of time and space" (33). No doubt, this can be applied to the archiving of folklore accomplished by the Axis powers. Their administrative effort somehow testifies to the importance that folk manifestations gained as part of the regime's endurance in power. At the same time, folk organizations had to accommodate themselves to the hierarchical principles of the Nazi and fascist regimes, their party disciplines, and above all, the assumption of solid leaderships (*Führerprinzip*) that determined the way folk institutions operated.

Theoretically, folklore's conservative and even reactionary connotations might have obscured other possible definitions of the notion. Antonio Gramsci's vision of folklore relies on the popular classes' epistemology. He conceived of folklore as part of a "filosofia spontanea."[29] For Gramsci, spontaneity belonged to the "'storia delle classi subalterne' e anzi degli elementi più marginali e periferici di queste classi" ("Spontaneità" 55). Besides being characteristic of the subaltern, spontaneity means "che non dovuti a un'attività educatrice sistematica da parte di un gruppo dirigente già consapevole, ma formatosi attraverso l'esperienza quotidiana illuminata dal 'senso comune' cioè dalla concezione tradizionale popolare del mondo, quello che molto pedestremente si chiama 'istinto' e non è anch'esso che un acquisizione storica primitiva ed

[29] According to Robert S. Drombroski's reading of Gramsci's *Prison Notebooks*, Gramsci delimited the understanding of people to the understanding of their spontaneous philosophy, encompassing "language," "common sense," "good sense," "popular religion," and also "folklore" (47).

elementare" (57). Gramsci interlocks the subaltern condition with an spontaneous philosophy and from this standpoint folklore belongs to the realm of knowledge that is not organized but rather produced organically, based on instincts in the absence of a unified philosophy structured by any groups' intellectual leadership.

However, the fact that this spontaneous philosophy of the rural people lacked elaborated, politically and systematically organized concepts opened the door to a planned appropriation by authoritarian regimes that saw in folklore a repository of nationalistic values upon which to build its national ethics. For instance, when describing fascism, Benito Mussolini appealed to the need to understand what Gramsci coined "filosofia spontanea" in order to rule a state ("There can be no conception of the State which is not fundamentally a conception of life" 9-10). As part of this spontaneous epistemology, folklore fell into the hands of fascism, which due to its control-driven polices, instrumentally adapted folklore to fascist practical expressions, i.e., vertical institutions, a rigid education system and a severe sense of discipline. These "practical expressions of Fascism"—including party organization, educational systems and discipline, could, according to Mussolini, only be apprehended when taking into account their relationship to "a higher life founded on duty" (10), and folklore could provide access to that "higher life" deemed necessary to express fascism in practice. The most obvious way to do it was through institutions, and the flourishing of research institutes, societies, and cultural programs (primarily publicly funded and supported) that dealt with folklore during the fascist ruling period is evidence of that practical approach in both Italy and Germany.[30]

[30] In Italy: Comitato Nazionale per le Tradizioni Popolari (later Comitato Nazionale Italiano per le Arti Popolari), and the Instituto Nicolò Tommaseo per la poesia dialettale, the folklore tasks carried out by the Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro, publications *Lares* (1930-1943) and *Il Folkore Italiano* (1925-1935), the creation of the first Professorship for "tradizioni popolari" at the Università di Roma, the establishment of the *Museo Nazionale delle Arti e Tradizioni Popolari*, in Rome in 1941. See the works of Simeone and Cavazza ("La Folkloristica Italiana"). In Germany, the inclusion of folklore and the peasant culture in the *Volkserziehungsprogramm* (Folk Education Program), the official promotion of the *Volkskunde* discipline dedicated to the study of folk culture from an

Contrary to Gramsci's conception of folklore as a result of "filosofia spontanea," Amy Bernardy emphasizes the disciplining and organizing attributes of Italian folklore in the face of the amorphous and chaotic condition of modernity: "Celebriamo in esso la virtù latina del lavoro modesto e paziente, la latina qualità della sagoma e della misura contro e sopra le disordinate forme di ispirazione straneira e le amorfe estrinsecazioni di una caotica e scapigliata modernità" ("Chronache" 53). Somehow fascist ideologists never ceased projecting their desires onto folklore, deliberately ignoring the subaltern classes and the historical conditions that have given rise to vernacular productions that they instrumentalized. Moreover, the importance fascism granted to institutions created a distorted mirage of the alleged thriving of folklore under their command. This mirage vanishes after shedding some light on the liberal institutions that already emerged under the League of Nations during the interwar period.

Instead, Nazi and fascist folklorists preclude folklore from becoming a critical source of study for the emancipation of the subaltern classes. As Gramsci observes: "il folclore è sempre stato legato alla cultura della classe dominante, e, a suo modo, ne ha tratto motivi che sono andati a inserirsi in combinazione con le precedenti tradizioni. Del resto, niente di più contraddittorio e frammentario del folclore" ("Osservazione" 220). Vernacular fragments, as found in spontaneous rural epistemologies, might under fascism become unified storytelling for the greater national

ethnological and social-anthropological perspective (including the publication of about 80 to 100 articles about this topic between 1933 and 1945, see Gerndt 5), the establishment in 1935 of the *Reichsinstitut für Geschichte des neuen Deutschlands* (Reich Institute for the History of New Germany), Die Forschungs- und Lehr-gemainschaft 'Das Ahnenerbe' (Research and Teaching Community 'the Ancestral Inheritance') of the Reichführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, the Dienstelle des Beauftragten des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der Nationalsozialistischen Deutschen Arbeierpartei (Office of the Fürhrer's Commissioner for the Supervision of All Intellectual and World view Schooling and Education of the NSDAP); and the foundation of magazines *Kunts und Volk*, *Volkstum und Heimat* and the professional *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, while also keeping the *Deutsch Forschungsgemeinschaft* (German Research Foundation), and Der Verband deutscher Vereine für Volkskunde (The League Institute of German Societies for Folklore). Also, see Christa Kamenetsky, "Folklore as a Political Tool in Nazi Germany" and "Folktale and Ideology in the Third Reich," as well as Lixfeld "The Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft and the Umbrella Organizations of German *Volkskunde* during the Third Reich" and "Fascist *Volkskunde and* Folk Renewal during the Third Reich."

narrative, through the monumental role of folklore institutions, giving birth to syncretic folklore. Fascists wanted to create their own storytelling to embody folklore and intervene upon it: institutions were their most powerful tool for consolidating their notions of folklore and for fostering a mythopoesis for the new *Weltanschauung*.

Reactionary Modernism: Performing the New Order

> The movements of the savage, who lived in freedom in constant touch with Nature, were unrestricted, natural and beautiful. Only the movements of the naked body can be perfectly natural. Man, arrived at the end of civilization, will have to return to nakedness, not to the unconscious nakedness of the savage, but to the conscious and acknowledged nakedness of the nature Man, whose body will be the harmonious expression of his spirtual [sic] being. (Duncan 263)

At the turn of the century, modernist dancer icon Isadora Duncan (1877-1927) advocated for a conscious return "to the original strength and to natural movements of woman's body" (264). Although profoundly modern, Duncan wanted to free the dancer's body from the rigid structures and verticality that ballet had imposed upon it. Moreover, the body would become a medium for communicating the "inner-self" to the audience: "Expressivity, then, is inseparable from an idealist perspective in which the body acts as a 'medium' giving the spectator access to an extra-corporeal self of which the body's movement furnishes traces. Duncan portrays 'inner self' as the physically absent or, let us say, nonspectacular and thus private presence of which dancing is the manifested echo" (Franko, *Dancing Modernism* 1-2). In a sense, through her dance, Isadora Duncan was performing the coming of a new era, "the end of civilization." In this new era, the

naked body was marked not by an absence but instead by the consciousness and theorization of the human need to be in harmony with nature.

Isadora Duncan's style, along with that of her rival Loïe Fuller, shook the dance stage with new dance aesthetics and left a mark on later dancers to come. Duncan's bare feet and Fuller's prosthetics enacted onstage projects for new societies, for a new *Weltanschauung.* Their works were truly inspirational for the -isms that populated the first decades of the twentieth century and which were successfully embraced by the Nazi and fascist regimes: Ausdruckstanz, or Expressionist dance in Germany, and Danza Futurista in Italy, both of which I will explore in this section.

Duncan's ideas about the need to return the dancing body to nature had a substantial impact on Rudolf von Laban (1879-1958), father of the dance script or Labanotation,[31] and one of the most prominent figures of Ausdruckstanz along with Mary Wigman and Kurt Jooss, both his disciples. Laban had been exposed to myths and folklore from different parts of the Balkans region during his childhood, and this later inspired his plays and puppet performances (Bradley 3). In the 1910s, he spent some time in Munich surrounded by café society and under the influence of Expressionist painters belonging to Der Blaue Reiter (The Blue Rider), of which Wassily Kandinsky, Paul Klee, or Franz Marc were part and which prompted Laban's interest in abstract art (8). There, he was also enthusiastic to study Émil Jaques-Dalcroze's ideas about Eurhythms,[32] which would be fundamental for his methods in rhythmical training. In 1920, Laban published the book *Die Welt des Tänzers* (*The World of Dancers*), in which he laid out his

[31] Laban's ideas about notation and kinetography theory about the laws of the movement were early distributed through specialized dance journals such as Schrifttanz, lectures, and books. Moreover, some of Laban's body-cross scripts were drawn from Celtic runes (Döerr 144). According to Bettina Arnold, the Nazi party appropriated prehistoric data, and some Indo-Europan and Germanic runes were used for party official symbology (469).
[32] Eurhythmics is the training of automatic muscular response to the effects of music (Jones 6).

theory of dance in relationship with society. In the epigraph dedicated to new forms of everyday life, "Neuen Alltagsformen," Laban assumes that in the industrial era, the body should incorporate a dance-like view of existence following the natural laws ("Naturgesetzmässig") to actualize the body's refinement to the improvements in the products' value. Likewise, he calls for cultivating the ego and the community ("Gemeinschaft") as essential parts of human life (153-154). This reference to *Gemeinschaft*, as opposed to society (*Gesellschaft*),[33] places Laban on a modern tradition of intellectuals against the track of capitalist atomization. Gemeinschaft implies kinship, and under the Nazi regime blood and soil, while society was merely dependent on a contractual relationship among unequal peers. Earlier in the book, he had condemned, as Duncan did, the atrophy that civilization brought about: "Man is physically, mentally and spiritually atrophied and corrupted in the service of the false needs of civilization" [34] (137).

Laban's methods were addressed to laypeople and professional dancers alike. Using icosahedron crystals—i.e., artificial physical hollow structures in which dancers rehearsed their movements—he aimed at training dancers to make them acknowledge their *Lebensraum*, vital space. His doctrine was widely applied at the commune of Ascona Monte Verità, in Switzerland, where, in the summer of 1913, he organized movement choirs (*Bewegungschores)*. Incorporating Laban's ideas, groups of people expressed their movements communally by performing patterns and multiform signs as a unified body under the choir leader's direction (see Image 2). In this way, the community should not be considered a society among equals, but rather a hierarchical space in which room for improvisation was allowed, but always within certain limits posed by

[33] This rhetorical opposition between Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft was first coined by Ferdinand Tönnes in his book *Community and Association* (see Counsell 157).
[34] In the original: "Der Mensch ist körperlich, seelisch und geistig im Dienst der falschen Zivilisationsbedürfnisse verkümmert und verbogen" (137).

the theorizations made by Laban and his collaborators—mainly Albrecht Knust and Dussia Bereska.

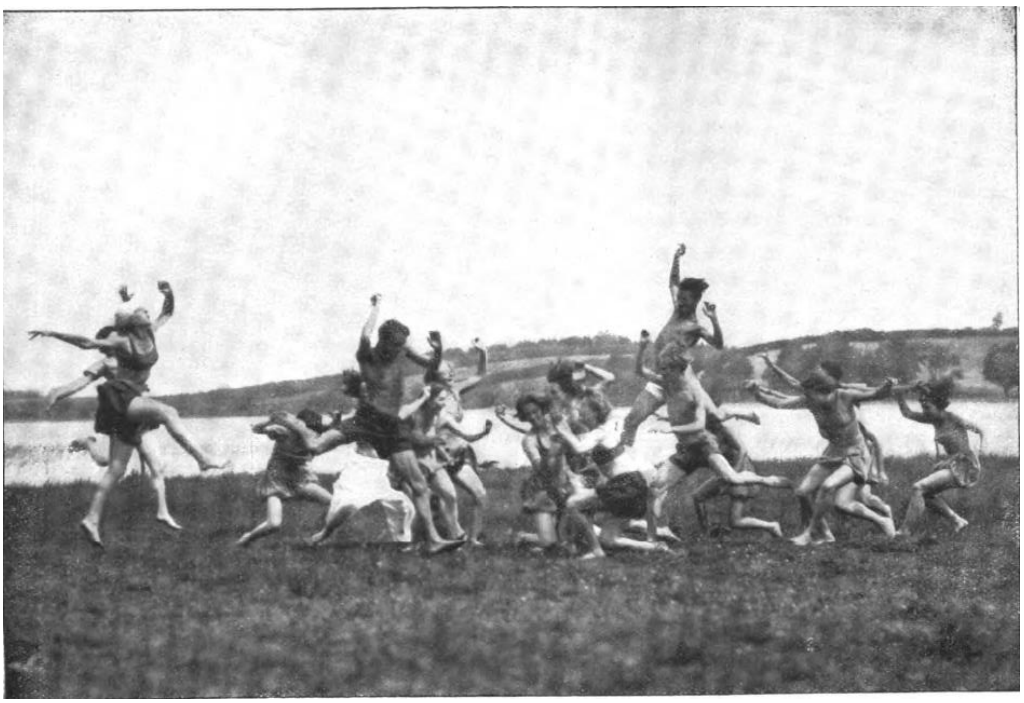

Image 2. Photography of dancers performing the art of movement, taken from Laban's *Die Welt des Tänzers*, 1920. Public Domain.

This hierarchy also crystallized because his disciples referred to him as *Count Laban* (see Partsch-Bergsohn 36). These choirs were divided into smaller groups for choreographies, organized in "organic clusters" superseding academic ballet's rows and columns (Berson 72). Moreover, Laban's notation system or dance script allowed for the reproduction of his methods and the foundation of different schools that could follow his ideas. Although it was difficult to assess which political direction these aesthetics could take in the moment of their unfolding, there were immanent elements such as those of a discriminatory community making and hierarchical structures that could be tamed into sinister power structures. In retrospect, Laban's treatises of dance as a way to transcend the theatrical stage and transform everyday relationships could also be co-opted as a mechanism to create enormous choir unities to perform the Nazi *völkisch* movement.

Laban's theories of dance as an art independently of free movement, gymnastics, and music (Partsch-Bergsohn 26) applied to the different movement choirs that settled around Germany during the 1920s, and 1930s, which graduates from Laban's schools ran.[35] Movement choirs ended up performing publicly, although initially they were meant to be a mere exploration of the bodies' movement in the community (Counsell 154).[36] Colin Counsell sees this phenomenon against the backdrop of Germany's proliferation of leagues and societies to enact a sort of "pre-modern *communitas*" (158). Movement choirs performed the community to give it an attainable expression in the same way cinema reproduced the masses to bring awareness and expression to their social form, as Walter Benjamin analyzed in "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction."

The concept of becoming a subject through subjugation to the community as movement choirs claimed matched perfectly with the Nazi doctrine. Moreover, the *Thingspiel* movement,[37] displaying mass performances in outdoor amphitheaters distributed around Germany, shared some similarities with Laban's movement choirs. The Nazi government had established the label of Degenerate Art ("Entartete Kunst") to talk about modern aesthetic forms that did not represent German values as they understood them. Yet they did not consider Ausdruckstanz part of this category, probably thanks to Laban's benefactor, Otto von Keudell, an employee of the Reichskulturkammer (Reich Chamber of Culture) dependent of Goebbels's cabinet (Percy 778).

In 1930, Laban was appointed the director of ballet at the Staatsoper in Berlin, to the great anticipation of the dance community; however, the experience until 1934 was quite

[35] Along with Dussia Bereska, Laban created also dance for theater called Tanzbühne Laban.
[36] Maletic notes that many Laban schools and movement choirs centers were created in central Europe in the interwar period (19).
[37] Sabine Hake describes the Thingspiel as "staged folk community, political mass choreography, and *völkisch* event theater" (155).

disappointing for everybody involved as ballet technique seemed incompatible with Laban's new methods.[38] The advent of the Nazis meant a new opportunity for Laban to put into practice his ideas following the Nietzschean notion that dance was "the medium by which the educated body became the instrument to draw forth the depth of the German spirit and its deepest emotions" (Karina and Kant 96). Under National Socialism, Laban and Wigman's dance was considered German, as stated by influential dance critic Fritz Böhme (Preston-Dunlop 179). In 1934, Laban enrolled in the service of the Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda (Reich Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda) commanded by Joseph Goebbels, and he took charge of the Deutsche Tanzbühne (Dance Theater) to organize festival performances (Percy 778). Following some relevant public events during the Third Reich's early years—such as the organization of the German Dance Festival in 1934 (Döerr 160-161)—Laban was entrusted with the preparations of a mass performance for the Olympic Games of Berlin in 1936: "Hitler wanted to present the German people to the world as a self-enclosed formation" (166). Upon sketching some librettos for Goebbels's bureau, Laban got the administration's permission to organize the dance production *Vom Tauwind und der neuen Freude* (Of the Thaw Wind and the New Joy), based on the idea that the defeated German nation could come together through the power of individuals gathering under the form of the community. It was a full-scale event and notation scores were sent to thirty German towns with Laban's movement choirs (Maletic 23). However, during the dress rehearsal in the presence of both Hitler and Goebbels the Nazi administration resolved to cancel the dance production, and little became known of the reasons

[38] Laban opposed the followers of traditional ballet, and he dismissed ballerinas that "generate much publicity in a scandal-loving press," using his own successful career as leverage. Then, Laban decided to abolish the contractual status of the soloist, and, finally, he chose dancing barefoot in opposition to the point technique (Karina and Kant 14-15).

for this change of gears.[39] In the end, Laban fled to the UK threatened by the Nazis' investigations, but his imprint was long-lasting for dancers down the line, including in the Iberian block.

Just as Ausdruckstanz was appropriated by the Nazis, Italian futurists engaged politically in Mussolini's regime. Thus, the same way Duncan inspired Laban's treatises about art, Loïe Fuller's *Serpentine Dance* (1890) motivated Filippo Tomaso Marinetti (1876-1944), futurism's pope. Marinetti's *Manifesto della danza futurista,* published in 1918, traced back an inspiring genealogy for the coming *danza futurista.* Some figures present in Marinetti's manifesto as symbols of modern dance had also been important for Laban's dance theory, such as Dalcroze and Duncan. The ultimate aim of futurist dance was to achieve the fusion between man and machine ("la fusion de l'homme et la machine"). Loïe Fuller's silky prosthetics resemble the wheels of a machine through centrifugal forces and human command over nature. As a novelty, she made use of incandescent electric lights on the stage as early as 1892, when gas lamps were mainstream. While performing, she utilized moving lights and glowing costumes to create a sense of "materialization and dematerialization of the dancer's body" (Merwin 80; 82). Moreover, some scholars have suggested that French physician Jean-Martin Charcot's nineteenth-century treatments to cure female hysteria through electric shock should be read between the lines of Fuller's use of electricity on stage. Her electric lights might serve similar purposes to shock in Charcot's treatment, i.e., to "unify a dissociated personality and restore movement to a hysterically paralyzed female patient" (84). Similarly, Ted Merwin propounds that Marinetti also used technology to heal "a diseased Italian culture" (85). Yet this

[39] There are different accounts of these events: Percy offers a fact-checked overview (779); Bradly sees the reason for performance's cancellation in Laban's speech against dogmatism (32); Maletic thinks that it was due to "mutual incompatibility" (23); and Kant and Döerr see the Nazi's censoring Laban's performance as a consequence of a political shift within the Nazi hierarchy, due to Keudell's removal from office and Laban's fall from favor.

technological command was not genuinely accessible to everyone in the society, and it was somewhat restricted to a selected minority. To use the machine required specific knowledge: "La 'macchina,' il prodotto tecnologico, era insieme strumento e 'tecnica,' elite di esperti . . . . l'artista d'avanguardia diventava, ora, il depositario del mutamento, l'interprete di una sensibilità che sfugge al popolo" (Cioli XIV). It was an avant-garde movement because artists were at the fore in imagining and performing the society to come: "l'arte 'precede' la società" (7). Thus, futurists kept for themselves the role of engineers of the new order under fascism.

Marinetti's "Danse de l'Aviateur," included in the 1918 manifesto, comprised six movements over the *mise-en-scène* of a four-square-meter geographic chart. The dancer plays a plane from the take-off to its expansion into the sky. Once the plane goes over the mountains, it glides through different meteorological states using electric light—again inspired by Fuller's theatrical lighting techniques. The dance was accompanied by storm sounds made by Luigi Russolo's *intonarumori,* futurist instruments exploring different noises. According to Marinetti, organized noise was more suited than music to futurist dance: "Le bruit est le langage de la nouvelle vie humaine-mécanique" (2).

By the time Marinetti's text came to life, Futurism had caught the eye of Sergei Diaghilev, Ballets Russes' impresario. As a result, Diaghilev commissioned Giacomo Balla to create the designs for Igor Stravinsky's *Fireworks* (1916), for which he fashioned robotic human figures.[40] Diaghilev also requested the stage design of the *Rossignol* ballet piece from futurist painter Fortunato Depero, but it never came to fruition.[41] Prior to Marinetti's manifesto,

[40] See Lynn Garafola's "The Making of the Ballet Modernist" for a study on Diaghilev's collaborations with avant-gardist artists.

[41] According to Bentivoglio, "Depero sostituisce alla tradizione del fondale dipinto e delle quinte convenzionali una nuova visione tridimensionale, che anticipa un modello di spettacolo rivoluzionario (lo stesso di Appia, Craig, Erler, Fuchs, Reinhardt) fondato sulla connessione tra il corpo del'attore e lo spazio in cui agisce" ("Danza e Futurismo" 66-67).

Valentine de Saint-Point had exposed her ideas about futurist performance in *Theatre of the Women* (1915) embodied in the exhibition *La Métachorie*,[42] but Marinetti found Saint-Point's performance insufficiently innovative.

In 1919, futurist pilot Fedele Azari published "Futurist Aerial Theater: Flight as an Artistic Expression of States of Mind" to include airshows among futurist performances. There, Azari argues that as dramatic performances, aerial maneuvers express different feelings, i.e., looping as a symptom of happiness, spins as impatience, long falls as nostalgia, and so on (129). According to Gabriele Brandstetter, these "expressive flights," are the breeding ground for "an affect theory of the (aero-) technical arts," constituting a new affect paradigm focused on the mechanical multiplied man (333-334). Again, this "new sensitivity" comes from the fusion of the man and the machine, as Azari exposes after having performed "many expressive flights": "I perceived that it was easy for the spectators to follow all the nuances of the aviator's states of mind, given the absolute identification between the pilot and his airplane, which becomes like an extension of his body: his bones, tendons, muscles, and nerves extend into longerons and metallic wires" (129).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, fascination with airplanes as the ultimate technological innovation inspired artists and intellectuals alike to reflect upon human existence and limitations. In September 1909, at the aerodrome of Brescia, located in the Po Valley region—the cradle of Italian fascism—Franz Kafka reported the spectacle of planes' weightlessness and the fusion between French pilot Louis Blériot and his flying machine for the *Bohemia* newspaper: "One sees his straight body over the wings, his legs are stretched down like a part of the engine. . . . Here, above us, there is a man twenty meters above the earth,

[42] For an analysis of De Saint-Point's manifestos, see Leslie Satin.

imprisoned in a wooden box, and pitting his strength against an invisible danger which he has taken on of his own free will. But we are standing below, thrust right back out of the way, without existence, and looking at this man" (306). Futurists transformed this popular spectacle into a new form of art, inspired by the cyborg mirage of the body merging with the flying machine.

Thus, of all dance pieces fleshed out in Marinetti's manifesto ("Danse de L'Aviateur," "Danse du Shrapnel," and "Danse de Mitrailleuse"), the dance of the aviatrix was the only one ever performed. Dancer Giannina Censi (1913-1995) transformed herself into a cyborg after compelling research on the mechanics of flying to incarnate Marinetti's plane (Pizzi 236). Coming from a family of musicians in Milan, she trained as a dancer in the prestigious ballet school La Scala (Milan) and then spent some time in Paris from 1927 to 1928. There she witnessed for the first time the splendor of neoclassicism on the bodies of Diaghilev's dancers Serge Lifar and George Balanchine, and even received flamenco lessons from Antonia Mercé, La Argentina.[43] Following her return to Italy, she took classes with Jia Ruskaja, a modernist dancer of Russian origin, often labelled as futurist (Pizzi 236-237; Bentivoglio, "The Women Artists" 45).[44] There she started attending futurist *soirées.* In particular, in 1930, at a performance at Castello Sforzesco in Milan, futurist Escodamè (Michele Leskovitch's

[43] The Ballets Russes also took part in the neoclassical wave propelled in France by the 1920s, a classical turn often conceived as conservative and anchored in the seventeenth-century monarchical and French catholic culture. In the political terrain, reactionary Charles Maurras, through *Action Française* (1899) reactionary political movement, has been the champion of a renewed nationalist sentiment that bore neoclassicism to the fore (Franko, *The Fascist Turn* 3). This movement coincided with Serge Lifar's appointment as the first dancer and then ballet director of the Paris Opera in 1929 and 1930, respectively. Later, Lifar became a collaborationist during the German occupation of France (18). His ballet pieces *Joan de Zarissa* (1942), based on German neoclassic composer Werner Egk's ballet *Joan von Zarissa* and *Suite en blanc* (1943), became a testimony of Lifar's political engagement with the Nazis (184). During this time, Lifar even confronted dance critic Fritz Boëhme's views of ballet as a decadent genre due to its French origins, explored in a 1933 article, by posing the Aryan source of ballet aesthetics in his book *La Danse: Les grands courants de la danse académique* (1938) (214-215).

[44] In an interview with dance critic Günter Berghaus, Censi reassured him that Jia Ruskaja was more interested in the Ancient Greek ascendence of dance. When they worked together, it was always on classical ballet (34).

pseudonym) decided to involve Giannina Censi in his production of Marinetti's *Simultanina* (Bentivoglio, "The Women Artists" 45). In the wake of her futurist baptism in 1931, she engaged in the preparations of aerodance, a term coined by futurist scenographer Enrico Prampolini, whose rubrics on biomechanics were essential to Censi's research (Pizzi 239-240). To understand what flying entailed in aesthetic and affective terms, Censi flew with pilot Mario de Bernardi, experiencing spins and pirouettes and other acrobatics in his plane. After this event, she stated: "In my dances I expressed through my body what de Bernardi expressed with his aeroplane" (Günter 34) (see Image 3).

Image 3. Giannina Censi performing aerodance, photographed by T. Santacroce, Milan, circa 1931. Courtesy of Museo di arte moderna e contemporanea di Trento e Rovereto, Archivio del '900, Fondo Censi.

Censi's research and her metamorphosis into a flying machine with a *casco* (helmet) and a silver-like satin leotard, with wires and tubes,[45] at the Galleria Pesaro in Milan, attest to the

[45] Beyond the well-known studio photographs, the entire costume also consisted of wires and tubes that Prampolini stuck onto it before Giannina Censi went on stage (Günter 35).

futurist attempt to perform the technological developments achieved at the turn of the century. They did not merely produce art; they represented a new order overwhelmed by industrial innovations, speed, war, motor vehicles, noises. Aerodance was, above all, a representation of the new society, capable of mutating bodies into machines thanks to advanced technology.

Moreover, Marinetti's choice of a ballerina for his sketches also served political purposes against the backdrop of Mussolini's reproductive policies. By transforming Giannina Censi's body into a machine through a process of de-sexualization, technology could operate as a way to better control and improve female biological fertility. Anja Klöck speaks of "fascistized mermaids," blending traditions and images from antiquity with the results of technological progress (408). In Censi's case, this patriarchal domination over female mechanical bodies turns into an evil metaphor of her own situation, as she became pregnant from a casual affair and had to survive in the fascist regime as a single mother. In fascist Italy, from 1926 onwards, reproductive policies were implemented, and contraception and abortion became outlawed. As eugenics became more and more prominent after the Second Italo-Ethiopian wars (1935-1937), childbearing ascended to the category of a service to the fascist state (De Grazia, *How fascism* 43-71). Thus, in 1933, when Censi's studio images of aerodance were included in Giuseppe Poggi Longostrevi's manual *Cultura fisica della donna ed estetica femminile*, her mechanical body became an icon of "Fascist physical education, pronatalist demographic policy and the body politic" (Pizzi 243). Moreover, futurist painter Alfredo Ambrosi represented a mechanical womb in his painting "Aeronautic maternity." The image enacted a synthesis of flesh and machine in which a machine-like woman with much-improved fertility by technology can create "universal life" with a "spiral-vulva-propeller" (Pizzi 243). By turning women into reproductive machines, futurists were once again representing a new order to be embraced under fascism, in

which they celebrated and implemented technology as a biopolitical weapon. “Let’s create art, even if the world perishes” (“Fiat ars—pereat mundus”), stated Walter Benjamin in his essay about mechanical reproduction in reference to Marinetti’s conception of aesthetics and his political malfeasance: “Its self-alienation has reached the point where it can experience its own annihilation as a supreme aesthetic pleasure” (“The Work of Art” 42). But how did modernist dance embrace fascism?

Since the inception of fascism, many intellectuals have been interested in the analogies and interfaces between reactionary politics and the historical avant-garde,[46] Walter Benjamin’s essay being a cornerstone of this preoccupation. Consequently, the word “reactionary modernism” coined by Jeffrey Herf became a keyword to parse out the intersections of fascism with avant-gardist forms of art. Herf’s theoretical intervention emerged from what he thought to be a paradox of fascism; i.e., the neutralized rhetorical oppositions between modernity and tradition: accepting modern technology while rejecting Enlightenment reason, even though the latter had created the conditions of possibility for the former to progress (1). In particular, German reactionary modernists “succeed in incorporating technology *into* the symbolism and language of *Kultur*—community, blood, will, self, form, productivity, and finally race—by taking it *out of* the realm of *Zivilisation*—reason, intellect, internationalism, materialism, and finance” (16; emphasis in the original). Mark Antliff considers some anti-Enlightenment fascist values such as “regeneration, spiritualism, primitivism, and avant-garde” concepts to be linked to modernist aesthetics (149). Meanwhile, David Cooper finds that reactionary modernists also involved themselves in processes of mythopoesis (28).

[46] I am referring here to Andrew Hewitt, Peter Bürger, or Enzo Traverso. See Roger Griffin also for a état de l’art about notions of “modernism” in the study of fascism. By contrast, historians of fascism George L. Mosse, Zeev Sternhell, and Emilio Gentile had altogether rejected the concept of “reactionary modernism” because fascism was not a reactionary ideology but rather a revolutionary project (Traverso “Interpreting Fascism” 305).

The changes that rapid industrialization and capitalism forced upon society after the Technological Revolution shook the foundations of rural epistemologies rooted in pre-industrial forms of life. Reactionary intellectuals such as Ezra Pound, Jean Cocteau, Wyndham Lewis, Marinetti, Laban, Ernesto Giménez Caballero, António Ferro, and many more *Mitläufer* or fascist fellow travelers sought in French Revolution and the Enlightenment values the source of modern decadence. As a result, impulses to build a new order out of the axes of the former *civilization* spurred reactionary intellectuals in search of new forms of living, giving a "palingenetic response to this perceived decadence," as Roger Griffin would put it ("Modernity, modernism and fascism" 11). This palingenetic response was common to fascist regimes, coming in the form of advanced technology, as in Futurism, by succumbing to the enchantments of mass performance, as in Laban, or through an encounter between deviance and tradition, as in the case of the Iberian troupes.

Contrary to Walter Benjamin, who saw in fascist "false restoration of a lost aura" through Futurism a reactionary path of the avant-garde movement (Hewitt 24), Andrew Hewitt defiantly avers that the avant-garde has disentangled itself from history. Just as history realizes itself through time, art self-reflects upon itself without any historical legitimation (42), taking art as the only source of measurement. The art form is in itself a historical realization of a new order: "the mimetic project of Marinetti's work should not be restricted to the model of signification and representation. It insists, instead, upon a model of production, of reference: of reality and its generation" (36). As a result, Hewitt affirms that there is no way back to linearity after the avant-garde; therefore, progress and reaction are mingled as historical concepts both politically and aesthetically paving the way to fascist modernism (47).

Reactionary modernists were also elitist thinkers who aimed at resisting mass movement even as they also dreamed of a popular audience of the future (Ferrall 4). Futurist art was not meant for big audiences; many of their performances were displayed at intimate *soirées* to be appreciated by exclusive circles: "l'utopica costruzione di una società priva di conflitti costituiva la base imprescindibile per la formazione dell'uomo futuro. Qui sta la funzione immediatamente politica dell'arte futurista che, fino alla plastica murale e soprattutto all'aeropintura di guerra, fu un'arte in qualche modo priva di mediazione sociale, non diretta alla diffusione o alla propaganda politica, ma semmai alla formazione di una aristocrazia di eletti" (Cioli XXI). By the same token, although Laban aimed to create a form of dance to address laypeople, only Laban's selected clusters could conduct his dance notation system and lead choral movements.

The concept of reactionary modernism allows me to place the theatrical dance projects of Francoism and Salazarism within the framework of the fascist avant-garde. Under these regimes, a certain modern art was not only permitted but also promoted. They strove to build the society of the future, the New European Order, through the aesthetic transformation of art, renouncing values immanent to the bourgeois conception of artistic creation such as freedom of speech or art autonomy. In lieu of art-for-art's-sake, art then had to be rooted in society either as total propaganda for the masses or as a project for the men and women of the fascist future. Therefore, it is not surprising that in the early moment of avant-garde expansion in Spain and Portugal, intellectuals from ideological fields as different as communism, liberalism, and fascism coincided in the same journals, like *Orpheu* (1915) and *La Gaceta Literaria* (1927-1932).

Even though only two issues of *Orpheu* magazine went to press in 1915, its impact had abiding implications, as I analyze in Chapter 2. The magazine aimed to accommodate new literary movements flourishing in Europe since the 1900s, gathering modernist writers and artists

of different ideological positions, from a young António Ferro to Fernando Pessoa, Almada Negreiros, Mário de Sá-Carneiro, or Santa-Rita Pintor, among other names. In the same vein, *La Gaceta,* more than a decade later, opens up the first issue with a "Salutación," by its editor-in-chief, Giménez Caballero, wherein he places the publication within the breadth of postwar cosmopolitan literary journals while welcoming different aesthetic choices: "¡Compañeros de letras: escritores, lectores!...¡No abandonarnos diciéndonos adiós desde el puerto! ¡Embarcad! Cabemos todos" (1). Although mostly in theory,[47] the journal was conceived as an inter-artistic phenomenon, following Ortega y Gasset's ideas on the dehumanization of art,[48] and encompassing an array of intellectuals and artists—Ramón Gómez de la Serna, Federico García Lorca, Salvador Dalí, José Bergamín, Margarita Nelken, and Edgar Neville among others. Later, Giménez Caballero praised himself for enlisting into his periodical "las dos juventudes espirituales que cuajarían el porvenir de España: los comunistas y los fascistas" (qtd. in Mainer 64).

The notion of "reactionary modernism" so profoundly tied to the fascist experience had its own manifestations in Spain and Portugal through figures such as António Ferro, the modernist journalist who was appointed director of the Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional (SPN) in 1933 (see Chapter 2), the above mentioned Ernesto Giménez Caballero, and in the Galician case, José Manuel Rey de Viana (see Chapter 3). To talk about reactionary modernism also allows me to address folklore as a purely modern phenomenon that fit in with the idea of

[47] Luis Moreno-Caballud argues that the magazine conveyed traditional patterns rather than avant-gardist aesthetics, maintaining a classic distribution of disciplines throughout the different sections: literature, cinema, theater, music, and plastic arts (432).

[48] In *La deshumanización del arte* (1925), José Ortega y Gasset argues that throughout the 19th century, art had been at the service of human subjectivity and within reach of everybody's understanding. Both Romanticism and Realism allowed the identification of the audience with the character's feelings and plots narrated, illustrated, or performed. However, the emergence of avant-garde produced a dehumanization of art precisely because it purged the human representation and focused on art that uses art as its own reference.

material progress that the regimes were comfortable spreading. In the first place, the diffusion of folklore depended on entextualization of music, as well as dance performances and the use of technologies, i.e., television, film, radio, and photography; and, secondly, folklore was the result of the literation of oral traditions that occurred in the framework of the hierarchical organization of knowledge within modernity.

However, often some generic scholarly notions of fascism had brought into consideration a certain idea of "authentic" fascism, defining some regimes as true fascist while casting others as authoritarian or para-fascist for their lack of allegedly essential fascist attributes.[49] For instance, Robert Paxton asserts that "Occupation fascisms are certainly interesting . . . , but it is doubtful that we can call them *authentic fascisms*, if only because they are not free to pursue national grandeur and expansionism" (114; my emphasis). Catholicism, militarism, and technocracy are often elements that distance Francoism and Salazarism from generic definitions of fascism.[50] Recently, Federico Finchelstein has contributed to the debate about a generic definition of fascism, getting rid of the European "provincialist" interpretation of fascism and including transnational phenomena (12-13). Finchelstein considers that the problem of taxonomic explanations is that they sometimes obscure empirical approaches to the objects of study (53). He argues that beyond European frontiers other forms of fascism might share common traces with the Italian fascist ideology, despite their inherent variations, which of course should be analyzed and seriously considered. By contrast, searching for "authentic" fascism takes one away from the main problem of the study of fascism, i.e., to analyze the conditions of

[49] See, for instance, Robert Paxton and Roger Griffin (*The Nature of Fascism*).
[50] In anthologies such as Aristotle A. Kallis' *The Fascism Reader*, although Spain is portrayed as a variation from authentic fascism, Portugal is utterly absent from the discourse, standing in sharp opposition to Portuguese domestic readings of the Estado Novo such as Fernando Rosas's *O Estado Novo nos Anos 30* (1986) or more recently *Salazar e os Fascismos* (2019).

possibility for a regime of violence, censorship, expansionism, enslavement, and death to emerge and impose itself against other political ideologies. Throughout the writing of my dissertation, not for a moment did I forget that I was dealing with abominable forms of government. They utilized authoritarian policies and state and parastate violence, causing personal and social tragedies and massive destruction, annihilating the imaginaries for a better future that the time of the Republics had brought about.

I also acknowledge that there are several examples of interdisciplinary scholarly literature about cross-state music and performing arts institutions during the fascist regimes. Especially in the music realm, under German leadership, the Axis powers created the Permanent Council for the International Co-operation between Composers (in German, Ständige Rat für die internationale Zusammenarbeit der Komponisten), in 1934. This conservative alternative to the International Society of Contemporary Music constituted an attempt to create a space for exchange among fascist composers, and it has recently been brought to the attention of scholars with interdisciplinary interests.[51] In addition, bilateral music exchanges between the fascist regimes are the target of comparative studies, for instance, between Francoist Spain and Nazi Germany,[52] fascist Italy,[53] or the Estado Novo;[54] as well as comparative analyses of cultural policies in fascist regimes.[55] These works have contributed to decentralizing the notion of

[51] See Benjamin George Martin's *The Nazi-Fascist New Order for European Culture*, Anne C. Shreffler's "The International Society of Contemporary Music and Its Political Context (1935)," or Christiane Sibille's "The Politics of Music in International Organizations in the First Half of the Twentieth Century."
[52] See Gemma Pérez Zalduondo's "La música y los intercambios culturales entre España y Alemania (1938-1942)," Javier Suárez-Pajares's "Festivals and Orchestras. Nazi Musical Propaganda in Spain during the Early 1940s" or Eva Moreda's "Fascist Spain and the Axis: Music, Politics, Race and Canon."
[53] See Genma Pérez Zalduondo's "Múisca y Músicos Italianos en España (1931-1943)" or Eva Moreda Rodríguez's "Italian Musicians in Francoist Spain, 1939-1945: The Perspective of Music Critics."
[54] See Igor Cotreras Zubillaga and Manuel Deniz Silva's "'Obligados a convivir pared con pared.' Los intercambios musicales entre España y Portugal durante los primeros años del Franquismo (1939-1944)" or Rosa Paula Rocha Pinto "'Para un mejor conocimiento peninsular': Music Criticism and Propaganda in the Performances of the Portuguese Ballet Company 'Verde Gaio' in Barcelona and Madrid (1943)".
[55] For instance, Gofredo Adinolfi studies the propaganda in fascist Germany, Portugal and Italy through cultural institutions.

fascism, allowing for a more nuanced analysis of the phenomenon by observing how it evolved in different countries and at different historical junctures. My dissertation aims to contribute to these debates recognizing the existence of similar politics of folklore under the Iberian fascism beyond mere comparison.

A Tradition Embodied by Deviance

Like many other cultural categories, deviance is historically and social determined, and so what is deviant today might not be in ten years' time, and vice versa. The subjectivities I study in this thesis were deviant by the time dictatorships ruled the Iberian Peninsula, because their political, social, and even juridical conditions were at odds with the ideal represented by the new fascist man. Deviance is socially fabricated inasmuch as it is a social reality, and implications of exclusion and discrimination are often tied to deviant bodies or bodies manifesting deviant behaviors. Moreover, to deviate (*de*-[away from] and -*via* [way]) is to turn away, to depart from a given route; therefore, it cannot be an absolute category as it might change as social perceptions transform what should be standard, normal, desirable or acceptable at a given moment in history. In *Queer Phenomenology* (2002), Sara Ahmed has explored how deviance is experienced in spatial terms. Deviance entails walking over "desire lines," as unofficial paths are described in architectural landscape jargon: "Such lines are indeed traces of desire; where people have taken different routes to get to this point or to that point" (19-20). Thus, tracks left in the ground when taking unofficial paths contribute to changing social landscapes, posing alternative ways to the agreed-upon routes. As per Judith Butler's ideas of gender subordination, another possible reading is to present the norm subsequent to the deviation. For Butler, the normal (in terms of gender, heterosexuality) can only be identified after seeing the difference

(homosexuality), which thus precedes the definition of the standard ("Imitation and Gender" 313).

During the Iberian fascist regimes, deviance became the subject of judicial control and police repression under the amendment of the Ley de Vagos y Maleantes of 1954 (Spain) and the Lei de Mendicidade of 20 July 1912, which after the coup of 1926 was enforced through several legal dispositions to ensure the punishment of homosexuals and others considered social deviants (Correia 166). Both laws equated homosexuals to vagrants and, the Spanish law framed as dangerous those who "en sus actividades y propagandas, reiteradamente inciten a la ejecución de delitos de terrorismo" (Art. 2). As deviant subjects, the folklorists and folk performers whom I study constructed new landscapes under the dictatorial regimes. At the same time, the Second Spanish Republic and the First Portuguese Republic had generated the conditions of possibility—i.e., women's rights, freedom in the arts, and the recognition of historical communities' particularities—for them to become emancipated subjects. These same conditions that allowed these folklorists to flourish were also used as pretexts for the coups in the name of restoring a standard order. These two temporal tensions are at stake in this thesis as I try to unravel the appropriation of deviance as instrumental in maintaining and promoting certain traditions.

As reactionary modernism, fascism aimed at building a new order inhabited by new men and women. As a patriarchal ideology, the subject of fascism was the new man. As explored by George Mosse, manliness became both a national symbol and a living example to transcend everyday mundane life under fascist regimes. In the Rome-Berlin Axis, ideas of strength, violence, and will to sacrifice for the community were promoted in the exaltation of the new fascist man, while the cult of the body and physical exercise—taking different forms in Italy and

Germany—was deemed a character-building activity ("The New Fascist Man" 155-162). As seen above, the Futurist man was at the fore of the new society to come, a technician with knowledge to command the machines that would prepare the nations for war.

While Francoist Spain adopted most of these ideas about the new man, particularly through the figure of the national soldier with a patriotic hint of resemblance to Don Quijote, special emphasis was also placed on restraining women's inhibitions to avoid the dangers intrinsic to the weaker sex. According to military psychiatrist Antonio Vallejo Nágera's thesis, women were perceived as "an impure and flawed version of the male body" (Aresti 165). As a consequence of these ideas, which pushed to the limit the misogynist postulates stated by renowned scientist Gregorio Marañón at the *fin-de-siècle*, every woman who dared to engage in so-called virile activities was treated as a patient of sexual pathological diseases and became regarded as an invert (Celaya 195). Despite contributing to subjecting women to the patriarchal hierarchy of Francoist society by limiting their role to the domestic terrain, Sección Femenina's *mandos* (leaders) kept for themselves some privileges reserved to the male sex. Sección Femenina (1934-1977) was the women's branch of José Antonio Primo de Rivera's *Falange Española,* and, under Francoism, they were almost the only women to keep an agenda of their own. As lay nuns, they were exempt from the sacrament of marriage.[56] In Chapter 1, "Coros y Danzas and the Political-Affective Reinvention of the Folklorist Role," I analyze how Sección Femenina (SF) escaped prescribed female roles like the devoted mother to engage in an action that it deemed women's property: the collection and dissemination of folklore. Despite being part of Francoist institutions, SF constituted both an uncomfortable ally and an useful tool to keep women organized under the Francoist structure, and to mobilize national affects when needed for

[56] See Jo Labanyi "Resemanticizing Feminine Surrender," and Maria Rosón for analysis of Sección Femenina's gender subversion.

political and diplomatic purposes. To write this chapter I have relied on Sección Femenina's manuals on folklore as much as on the correspondence among leading members during Coros y Danzas' displacements to other countries, and which are now located at the Real Academia de la Historia archive. In the last section of this chapter, I exegetically study Ladislao Vajda's film *Ronda Española* (1952). In it, Coros y Danzas are featured as the protagonist of a diplomatic trip to emotionally engage the community of Spanish exiles and gain them back for the country through folklore.

In the Portuguese case, the new man, the *Homo Lusitanus,* would be the result of António Ferro's *Política do Espírito.* This policy was based on Paul Valéry's ideas of preserving "o essencial do que foi o homem, dos conhecimentos do homem e do que este considera indispensável para a continuidade da vida civilizada" (qtd. in Dos Santos 98). But the Estado Novo's new man was not a monolithic figure, it could be represented both by technocrat and ascetic António de Olvieira Salazar and the dynamic cosmopolitan intellectual António Ferro: "Salazar, na sua perspectiva de evitar conflitos, na aparente procura de unidade, encontrou em A. Ferro o jornalista moderno, cosmopolita ligado ao meio artístico, o vanguardista de aparelho, necessário para dar fulgor a este novo Poder nascente e que ele, demasiado académico, demasiado doutoral, não conseguiria, por si só, obter" (100).

Within this framework, homosexuality was out of place. In fact, it was outlawed, and homosexuals, the homeless, procurers, and prostitutes were condemned as vagrants (Bastos). They all deviated from the norm and performed behaviors conceived as threatening to the social standards enforced by the new form of government. Likewise, doctors under the Estado Novo treated homosexuality as a personality disorder. In his 1906 book *Vida sexual,* Nobel Prize winner doctor Egas Moniz (1874-1955) warned against homosexuality and saw among the upper

classes a more evident tendency towards sinful habits of sexual perversion due to nervous breakdowns (Almeida 52). Later, in 1926, Asdrúbal António d'Aguiar proposed a way to cure homosexuality as a treatable disease through electroshock, a treatment used in Portugal during the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, and then replaced by galvanic current therapy (55-59). Against this backdrop, in 1925, on the eve of the coup of the 28th of May, 1926, a young Francis Graça was booed during his debut as dance performer at António Ferro's Teatro Novo. His effeminacy was considered too deviant, and this event forced Francis to abandon Portugal for Paris, where he sought inspiration in the avant-garde. Upon his return to Lisbon and, in particular, to the Portuguese revue, with a new name and a mask to disguise his past, Francis Graça became a sort of António Ferro "alter-ego bailatório" (Tércio 139). Francis Graça's corporeal Lusitanism became the object of the Portuguese upper-classes' attention, craving more exploratory forms of art, and even timid queer aesthetics.

Unfortunately, dancer Valentim de Barros, once called the Portuguese Nijinsky, did not suffer Francis's same fate. In 1937, after a stay in Germany dancing before the Nazis, De Barros came back to Lisbon and participated in the variety shows of the Portuguese revue. As a result of his cross-dressing, he was detained in 1940 and sent to Miguel Bombarda's psychiatric wards, where he remained knitting beautiful rag dolls and surrounded by saints until his death in 1986 (Almeida 55-56; Cascais 141). In Chapter 2, "Verde Gaio: Queering Folk Dances for the Elite," I explore how Francis Graça's body became part of Estado Novo's corporeal ideal through the Bailados Portugueses Verde Gaio in spite of the regime's highly repressive policies against deviance. There, I delve into the connection between the regime's appropriation of vernacular productions and Francis Graça's overhaul of the dance field. Hence, I combine hermeneutical reading of archive materials such as newsclippings, flyers, and correspondence, with analysis of

Portuguese literary and cinematic production, including José Leitão de Barros's *A Severa* (1931) and Mário de Sá-Carneiro's *A Confissão de Lúcio* (1914). I also delve into the experiences of amateur troupes of revival folklore, the Ranchos Folclóricos, as they were the other side of the coin of António Ferro's cultural policies. Towards the end of the chapter, I study Verde Gaio's ballet piece *Nazaré* based on a reel held at the Cinemateca Portuguesa, filmed by director António Lópes Ribeiro in 1962 and choreographed by Francis Graça.

Turning now to the Galician case, although repression against Galician sovereigntists started in July 1936, as soon as the territory fell into the hands of fascists, it was only after the enforcement of the Ley de Responsabilidades Políticas, of 1939, when Galician sovereigntists and so-called "separatist" organizations were openly condemned under the Franco Regime. The law explicitly included the Partido Galeguista (PG), a party integrated into the Frente Popular that claimed more autonomy for the Galician people (Prada Rodríguez 154). On August 17, 1936, Alexandre Bóveda, one of the founders of the PG, was killed by the fascists, giving rise to the commemoration for the Día da Galiza Mártir. Prior to the Spanish Civil War, the above-mentioned *La Gaceta Literaria,* with fascist Giménez Caballero as editor in chief, had regularly included articles in all peninsular languages beyond Spanish. Until 1929, when Giménez Caballero's fascist views became obvious, the journal had collaborators who advocated for Galician autonomy (Núñez Seixas 23-25). Within the fascist camp, regional and local cultures became propaganda, although always subordinated to the greater nation (55). Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas specifies that these concessions to local sentiments depended very much on the context in which they were produced and the symbolic capital of their actions altogether: "Un monólogo chocalleiro nunhas festas parroquiais era diferente dun pregón oficial, e unha poesía de amor nun artigo na prensa. O galego nos beizos labregos non era un perigo mentres non se

acompañase de prácticas escritas ou públicas" (132-133). Thus, although there was no explicit legislative regulation to ban vernacular languages, beginning in 1939 a series of ministerial orders forbidding the use of languages other than Spanish in specific contexts—store names, brands, industrial complexes, ships, or personal names—hindered the use of the peninsular languages under Francoism (see Monteagudo 82-83). The Spanish fascist "new man" spoke Spanish because he should speak like Franco did, as shown by an op-ed in *La Vanguardia* newspaper in 1939: "Todos los españoles debemos hacer tres cosas: pensar como Franco, sentir como Franco y hablar como Franco, que hablando, naturalmente, en el idioma nacional, ha impuesto su Victoria" (qtd. in Monteagudo 81).

What the regime conceived as dialects—the Basque, the Catalan, the Aranese, the Asturian, the Aragonese, the Andalusian, or the Galician languages—were limited to intimate and puerile activities that could not harm the Spanish unity. Francoism progressively instrumentalized vernacular productions in languages other than Spanish, especially after the modernization process the country experienced with the shift towards a technocrat-led government from the mid-1960s on. In Catalonia, the organization Òmnium Cultural, openly advocating for the promotion of Catalan language and culture, was permitted in July 1961, and after a temporary ban in 1967, reinstated under the regime's claims that it had been entirely depoliticized (Dowling 376-377). Throughout Spanish modernity, at the state level, the nation-building process had depended on local and regional identity schemes, which were often appropriated to convey a sense of belonging to an *imagined community* "from the bottom up" (Núñez Seixas and Umbach 296).

In Galiza, the Ballet Gallego Rey de Viana, directed by José Manuel Rey de Viana, became an unofficial diplomatic tool during the Spanish participation in the New York World

Fair in 1964-1965, and was fully incorporated into the Francoist institutional network in 1971 through the Deputación Provincial de A Coruña, and under the management of the Falange-leader Ángel Porto Anido. Chapter 3, "Negotiating Subalternity: the Ballet Gallego Rey de Viana against Flamenco," discusses how Celticism as a commercial music label contributed to casting Rey de Viana's troupe as a depoliticized regional identity, suitable to represent the Spanish nation abroad, in substitution of flamenco's exotic and perverted iconicity. In the case of the Ballet Gallego, the abrupt termination of the company in 2006 left the archive dispersed and made gathering the pieces a complex task,[57] while its life previous to being absorbed by Francoist institutions left its records outside of institutional protection. Internal correspondence is held in the Deputación de A Coruña's archive, and some videos of the Ballet Gallego's most recent performances are now available at Televisión de Galicia's archive. In the last chapter, I study the Ballet Gallego in connection with Coros Galegos' *cadros de declamación* (the art of declamation) and with musicologist Jesús Bal y Gay's treaty on the Galician ballet: *Hacia el ballet gallego* (1924). In a socio-historical exercise, I analyze the Ballet Gallego against the emergence of folkloric ensembles during the Cold War, such as Igor Moiseyev's Dance Company (Russia) and Amalia Hernández's Folkloric Ballet (Mexico). In the last section of Chapter 3, I focus on the construction of the Galician matriarchal myth and the construction of Galician subalternity through different cultural devices sharing an exogenous definition of Galicianness through the exhibition of Galician folk performances, namely the film *La Casa de la Troya* (1924), the documentary *Galicia y sus gentes: ayer y hoy de las tierra meigas* (1951) and the Ballet Gallego's *Poema da Chispa* (1970).

[57] After the 2006 legislative elections in Galiza, the social-democratic coalition government formed by the Partido dos Socialistas de Galicia (PSdeG) and the Galician nationalist party Bloque Nacionalista Galego (BNG), being Ánxela Bugallo (BNG) responsible for the Culture cabinet, decided to put an end to the Ballet Gallego Rey de Viana as part of Galician public institutions.

In my dissertation, I sew together these micro-histories in order to propose a reading of the politics of folklore under the Iberian fascist regimes grounded in a postcolonial and feminist perspective. After the Second World War, the collapse of the Axis powers did not spill over into the Iberian fascist regimes. In their surviving strategies in the midst of the Cold War, dictators Francisco Franco and António de Oliveira Salazar, first (1932-1968), and Marcelo Caetano, later (1968-1974), used not only coercion but also hegemonic apparatuses that relied heavily on folk performance and reactionary modernist aesthetics. Within this period, there were profound social changes stemming from the growing industrialization, the advent of consumer society, and the globalization of Portugal and Spain in the mid-1960s, as well as, in the Portuguese case, the wars in colonial territories of the 1960s and 1970s. In this context, as a demarcated historical collectivity, the people were identified as a repository of authentic culture. Certain gender roles, as well as racialized, and classist ideas of being Spanish and Portuguese were privileged and emphasized at the expense of other social identities.

My dissertation, thus, articulates the interventions of state- and institution-sponsored cultural agents whose deviation from the "new fascist man" was of political utility for the Iberian fascist regimes' endurance in power. On behalf of the Spanish and Portuguese dictatorships, these folklorists and folk performers instrumentalized their alterity—as gender other, sexual deviant, and ethnic minority, respectively—by creating new forms of art that could convey an aesthetically and culturally attractive image of the country abroad and to the domestic elites while addressing wider audiences. Folklore became a fundamental tool to provide these companies with the authority to perform the so-called essence of Spain and Portugal while erasing the social conditions of the people who produced and circulated vernacular music and dance.

Chapter 1: Coros y Danzas and the Political-Affective Reinvention of the Folklorist Role

> "If our obligation is solely to enrich a city, urban, middle-class culture, the suspicion that some of the folk have of us might actually be justified, that we are folklorists basically because we are enriching ourselves, either with prestige or actual money… We have to defend them, to interpret to them what is going on in the world which they do not make, but which begins to move in upon them and crush their culture."
>
> Alan Lomax, "Making Folklore Available." 1953.

Since its creation in 1934, Sección Femenina (SF) was concerned with defining what constituted tradition and in what way it should be related to its idea of modernity. SF's folklore project, best represented in Coros y Danzas (1939-1977), managed vernacular culture instrumentally to justify its share of power in the Franco regime. Precisely, SF endured throughout the dictatorship thanks to its institutionalization of everyday rural life presented by the Coros troupes. Through both their repertoire and their performances on stage, Coros y Danzas became a *sui generis* folklore agent born out of the fascist cultural policies of the interwar period. As it happened in Nazi Germany, folklorists who could provide practical examples of political folklore were promoted at the expense of experts in the field of *Volkskunde* (folklore).

In this chapter, I firstly study how Coros y Danzas intervened in the folklore transmission circuit with their political agenda. Reenactments of tradition within the context of modernity, mechanisms of power and control are shaped through notions of authenticity embodied by either alterity—that is, the subaltern women, the peasants, the poor, the racialized—or authority—trained educated men. Richard Bauman and Charles L. Briggs's *Voices of Modernity* (2003) analyzes "the role of formative texts—some still famous and others nearly forgotten—in terms of

the way that they created metadiscursive regimes, shaped who would control them, channeled practices of the imagination, and established limits to what could be imagined and whose imaginings would be deemed authentic (the Other's) and whose would be authoritative (the elite's)" (312). Thus those texts formative of a folklore imaginary were the result as well as the producers of a selection process that had established limits of what would be authentic and who would be authorized to create and disseminate them. But the SF project challenges this premise. To begin with, Sección Femenina's members did not abide by the norms of femininity they themselves promoted through their media outputs and propaganda. Instead, they often subverted gender roles through gender blending in their writings or male body language in their visual artifacts, as Jo Labanyi and María Rosón have explored.

Thus, Coros y Danzas, as part of SF's subversive understanding of gender roles, distorted both categories, authenticity and authority, to present themselves as a coherent folklorist body within Franco's fascist political project. SF's aim to recover the vernacular culture of the Spanish rural periphery did not require their members to be anthropologists, musicologists, or intellectuals of any kind. And yet, Sección Femenina regulated its own music courses and created pedagogical materials to accomplish its collection and dissemination of folklore, above and beyond the help they received from male specialists in the area such as Maestro Rafael Benedito or Ramón Menéndez Pidal. It also did not meet the criteria of authenticity, as members mostly belonged to the urban petty bourgeoisie, and were very distanced from the productions they claimed to embody. Such epistemological barriers did not, however, preclude the fascist organization of women from considering itself a legitimate guardian of folklore and tradition, which it deemed in danger of extinction—particularly after the advent of the Second Spanish Republic (1931-1939). So how did authenticity and authority work for Sección Femenina as a

folklore agent? As I stated in the Introduction, SF embodied a dialectic dilemma—often encountered in the folklore realm (see Ochoa Gautier 395), but aggravated by Francoist patriarchal dictatorship—as it was neither a privileged public referent nor a subaltern organization.

Secondly, Sección Femenina had to navigate between its loyalty to Falange Española y de las JONS and its loyalty to dictator Francisco Franco. Therefore, it occupied an ambivalent space within the dictatorial regime. The organization itself was born out of the fascist project of a Falange that never met its expectations within the Franco regime in the face of the power hold by military commanders and the Catholic Church. Despite Franco's hesitation, Sección Femenina enthusiastically supported the entry of Spain into World War II, and so its first diplomatic missions—these were a key tool for the organization's survival during Francoism—had been to the Axis countries. Once Hitler and Mussolini's regimes collapsed, Sección Femenina understood that its survival would depend on its ability to adapt to the Franco dictatorship. This adaptation was channeled through two differentiated projects: on the one hand, an attempt to control the rural areas and their cultural production;[1] and, on the other, the domain of cultural diplomacy. In this twofold task, Coros y Danzas managed to appropriate a vernacular repertoire through a process of entextualization (see Baumann and Briggs "Poetics and Performance" 73-76), and disseminated it abroad in such a way that this reified repertoire became associated with them not only politically, but also affectively. In the process of cultural appropriation through an

[1]After the collapse of the Axis Powers Francisco Franco progressively turned his back on Falange. Their loss of power became obvious in 1956, when the Falangist Joaquín Ruiz Giménez was dismissed as Minister of Education in 1956. As part of Falange, Sección Femenina suffered the consequences of this ostracism within the Francoist sectors. Therefore, Sección Femenina decided to focus their activities mainly on the rural areas of Spain (Rodríguez López, "El campo como refugio" 118-125). This situation also coincided with the rural exodus of the 50s, when peasants began to migrate either to cities or to other countries because of the low standard of living and discontinuous and insecure working conditions, as well as lack of economic incentives. Yet Sección Femenina tried to navigate this situation by training women in agricultural jobs and craftsmanship, so they could continue living in the rural areas and the women's organization could hold its quota of power (Ramos Zamora and Rabazas Romero).

embodiment of those performances, Sección Femenina was at an ontological crossroad: they had not resolved whether they were a Francoist folklorist body, within the complex family system of the regime, or a Falangist one. Hence, I explore how Coros y Danzas dealt with this ontological strain while incorporating vernacular songs, dances, and costumes.

A third element this chapter articulates is connected to the affective memory that the SF folklore project generated through the dissemination of a repertoire attached to the Spanish imaginary. I follow the path paved by Eric Fromm in *Escape from Freedom* (1941) understanding emotions not only as a result of social processes but also as productive forces that can set off social actions (47). More recently, Sara Ahmed has proposed that emotions can be accumulated through time, yet they can become a fetish if their manufacturing process is erased from the objects that enable the emergence of such emotions (11); I extend this framework beyond objects to also include performances. Taking affects and emotions as social practices, I maintain that Sección Femenina managed to interlock memory and affectivity by creating a series of fetishized sentiments that resulted from and unleashed social processes. Thus, defining affects were a fundamental part of their task abroad, as shown in the propagandistic film *Ronda Española* (1952), which I analyze in the last section of this chapter. Sección Femenina used folk music and dances to bring the communities of exiles, who lived in the countries they visited for their diplomatic actions, to confront their past. In what way was their role as folklorists connected to the embodiment of an affective memory?

This chapter attempts to answer the questions posed above by viewing Coros y Danzas as an institutional folklore agent. SF, through Coros y Danzas, intervened in local processes of heritage transmission, institutionalizing the exchange of vernacular knowledge and creating a spectacular apparatus of folk dances, songs, and costumes. Its project challenged the classical

role of folklorists not only through their analytical categories—authenticity and authority—but also by means of their dissemination process, as they identified with an affective memory triggered by a reified vernacular culture amid a struggle to survive within the Franco dictatorship.

1.1 Authorized Authenticity: Institutionalizing a Falangist Repertoire

The members of Sección Femenina carried out visible tasks to promote rural areas through three departments: Regiduría de la Hermandad entre la Ciudad y el Campo (Brotherhood of City and Countryside),[2] Regiduría de Cátedras Ambulantes (Traveling Professorships), and Regiduría de Cultura (Culture). The latter had a section devoted to Coros y Danzas (Choirs and Dances), in charge of collecting and disseminating folk music and dances. Although the cultural material came from rural areas, the groups formed around the organization were mainly based in cities and big towns.

Early on, Coros y Danzas established a set of norms on how to professionalize folklore collection and dissemination, but they were never able to fulfill the tasks they entrusted themselves with. In 1944 Pilar Primo de Rivera, the national delegate of Sección Femenina, advised by the folklorist Ramón Menéndez Pidal, abandoned her original idea that Sardanas, Sevillanas, and Muiñeiras among others were to be known equally throughout Spain. In order to achieve authenticity, it was determined that each group of Coros y Danzas should specialize in the folklore of its own region (Primo de Rivera 249). In a memo sent on March 10, 1944, Primo

[2] The Hermandad de la Ciudad y del Campo began to organize workshops for rural workers to transform the "mentalidad de la mujer campesina" (García Abadía). The courses on Rural Auxiliary for SF members were held in boarding schools and lasted a month and a half. Aside from organizing these workshops, the officials were in charge of "monitoring" the village inhabitants. They also demanded that the disciples contributed to the "resurgir del espíritu artesano y de tradición con renovación de costumbres, fiestas populares, canciones y bailes" ("Circular: Guión de Actuación" 4).

de Rivera gave a series of instructions regarding how Sección Femenina should pursue their folklore project:

> Aprovecharéis las circunstancias de romerías, ferias, día del Patrono, etc., para que el grupo de coros y danzas de la Sección Femenina de cada pueblo baile en la plaza, y así se irán acostumbrando hasta llegar si fuera posible a establecerlo como costumbre para todos los domingos.
>
> Bien entendido que sólo esto debe hacerse en los pueblos donde exista una tradición folklórica de bailes, canciones y trajes, porque si quisiéramos arraigarlo de una manera general en todos los pueblos en vez de un bien haríamos un mal muy grande, porque resultaría una cosa artificial y postiza tan fuera del ambiente como los bailes modernos. (qtd. in Casero, "Los Coros y Danzas" 66)

SF's national delegate fleshed out a method of building customs based on the systematic and specialized work of collecting vernacular cultural production from Spanish rural communities that proved to have maintained that tradition. However, dance scholar Estrella Casero believes that these measures were never put into action due to the lack of means and the absence of stable leadership in the Regiduría de Cultura up until 1940, when María Josefa (Maruja) Sampelayo took the helm. In fact, throughout its existence, Sección Femenina imported folklore into towns and villages, with the collaboration of priests and teachers.

Hence the women's organization does not represent a classical folklorist model, either from the point of view of authenticity—the link between cultural production and alterity—or from the point of view of authority—they were non-specialist and women. To begin with, Sección Femenina's members (*afiliadas, profesoras* and *mandos*) belonged predominantly to the middle class and the petty bourgeoisie, and even incorporated "cierta aristocracia quijotesca y

algunos intelectuales" (García Abadía).[3] Most of them had no contact with rural areas. They lived in towns and cities yet felt entitled to manage the lives and cultural production of peasants and artisans from the countryside. Bauman and Briggs consider that oral tradition is the foundation of a poetics of Otherness, and this alterity within modern societies is embodied by "uneducated, rural, poor, female" people, who have been frozen into a premodern stage by modern intellectuals (*Voices of modernity* 14).[4] But Sección Femenina did not quite place in this category as they were women who could participate in the power relations of the Franco regime, and who came from privileged sectors of the Spanish society. Despite deviating their gender role from the feminine ideal of maternity that the regime promoted and that they themselves disseminated through their magazines *Y: Revista para la mujer, Consigna, Medina, Ventanal, Bazar* or *Teresa*,[5] SF's members were power allies and, so, their condition of women with access to certain quotas of policy-making prevent them from embodying any form of alterity as defined by Bauman and Briggs.

The mechanisms of authentication used by SF through Coros y Danzas came in many guises. Interference in heritage transmission of folk culture was one of them. Coros y Danzas interrupted the transmission of knowledge by cutting off the generational bonds that occurred within local communities. Yet this process was not new. Vernacular cultural production had been the target of intellectuals in search of a *volksgeist* since the nineteenth-century.[6] In fact, Emilia

[3] Files related to Camino García Abadía's Ph.D thesis. She used to be part of SF as Secretaria Provincial in Valladolid and she hold a Professorship in History at High School. In a note in the index of ANA's archive it says about García Abadía: "Se trata de una camarada de la Sección Femenina muy preparada y de total confianza ideológica."

[4] Outside modern societies they identified the savage, primitive, and "preliterate" (Bauman and Briggs 14).

[5] For an insight on Sección Femenina's propaganda on the maternal role as immanent to the female gender see Begoña Barrera's Chapter 6.

[6] As a matter of fact, at the *fin-de-siècle* there had been a boom in the recovery and promotion of different musical genres considered folk or vernacular. Some folklorists and ethnographers linked to the Junta para Ampliación de Estudios (Board for Expansion of Studies) were Eduardo Martínez Torner, Jesús Bal y Gay, Joaquín Nin Castellanos or José Subirá. In this regard, some academic works compare the Misiones Pedagógicas that took place during the

Pardo Bazán considered that women's closeness to primitive instincts made them better suited than men to transmit folk knowledge: "Observan los aficionados á recoger tradiciones, coplas y cuentos populares, que los hombres, por inteligentes y cultos que sean, no son aptos para trasmitírselos, mientras que las mujeres se los comunican con singular exactitud. Y es que el alma de la mujer, acaso por su contacto con la niñez, está más cerca del alma ingenua del pueblo" (*De mi tierra* 28-29). The idea of women as vessels of tradition transcended the nineteenth century. Thus, in a conference at the Residencia de Estudiantes in 1928, the poet Federico García Lorca articulated, based on his own experience, how vernacular knowledge and, in particular, that of *nanas* (lullabies), romances, and other folksongs entered aristocratic and bourgeois homes through the milk of the nursemaids and the care of domestic workers:[7]

> Son las pobres mujeres las que dan a los hijos este pan melancólico y son ellas, las que lo llevan a las casas ricas. El niño rico tiene la nana de la mujer pobre al mismo tiempo que le da su cándida leche silvestre, médula del país. Estas nodrizas juntamente con las criadas y otras sirvientas más humildes, están realizando hace mucho tiempo la importantísima labor de llevar el romance, la canción y el canto a las casas de los aristócratas y los burgueses. Los niños ricos saben de Gerineldo de Don Bernardo, de Tamar o de los amantes de Teruel, gracias a estas admirables criadas y nodrizas, que bajan de los montes o vienen a lo largo de nuestros ríos para darnos la primera lección de historia de España y poner en nuestra carne el sello áspero de la divisa ibérica "Solo estás y solo vivirás." (García Lorca 8)

Second Spanish Republic and the Cátedras Ambulantes of Sección Femenina, see Lizarazu de Mesa or López García and Del Valle Moya Martínez.

[7] In the conference, Federico García Lorca analyzed a series of *nanas* from different Spanish territories—some of them collected by himself—and he got to the conclusion that Spanish lullabies, unlike other European ones, had the purpose to teach babies and little children a lesson, offer a moral, "herir al mismo tiempo su sensibilidad," beyond being a mere instrument to make them sleep (6).

According to Federico García Lorca's idea of folklore circuit, vernacular knowledge, which had been transmitted from generation to generation in local communities, was absorbed by the circuits of the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy through an economic exchange due to the material needs of poor communities. It is worth noting that this knowledge was transmitted by women. They were the protagonists of this trade: sustenance in exchange for vernacular culture. For Estrella Casero, the fact that women were marginalized from higher education at a time of modernization, industrialization, and consequent abandonment of the countryside during the dictatorship made them appear as bearers of "tradiciones populares" (*La España que bailó con Franco* 40). Within this genealogy, I argue that Sección Femenina took the gendered role of García Lorca's nursemaids, becoming an interventionist element in the generational transmission circuit by raising folklore to the public sphere. The women's branch of the Falange created formal spaces and imposed its own instruments, such as teaching instruction, local choirs, and media. In so doing, SF gained their own space in the hierarchy imposed by the Franco dictatorship.

Progressively the institutionalized spaces of folklore practice created by SF became substitutes for the familiar and communal environments in which those transmissions used to take place, as musicologist Judith Cohen declares in her analysis of gender and the square drum in the Iberian Peninsula:[8] "In Spain, during the Franco regime, the Women's Section (*Sección Femenina*) of the Falange party instigated many changes in repertoire and performance practice, often as part of their campaign to preserve and disseminate what they saw as healthy folk performances" (109). Before SF's exogenous intervention, the square drum served as an instrument of artistic exploration for female drum players. That process was abruptly interrupted

[8] *pandero cuadrado* in Spanish, and *adufe* in Portuguese.

by mechanisms of division of labor that Franco's capitalist economic and political system accelerated. Women in this framework were reduced to mere players. Yet, at the beginning of the twentieth century, female roles had been rather different; not only could they play the square drum for long hours, thanks to their strong arms—cultivated in the fields—but they crafted their own instruments and decorated the drums to their liking, thereby exploring their creativity (107). The process of folklore simplification to which SF submitted vernacular culture also led other symbolic conceptions of fecundity and sexuality as well as spontaneity to disappearance. Additionally, the circulation of folk culture suffered a "changed of direction" from the nineteenth century to Francoism, as Carmen Ortiz claims. She describes a series of "inventions" promoted by the Franco regime in which religious rhetoric and glorification of fascist attributes supplanted other tropes such as anticlerical lyrics ("The Uses of Folklore" 479-483). Thus, Sección Femenina was key to the construction of a fascist syncretic folklore.

Some of the encounters between Spanish rural communities and Sección Femenina took place within the Cátedras Ambulantes, through which SF created formal spaces for the transmission of vernacular knowledge. Particularly, the Cátedra Francisco Franco consisted of four trucks with their respective trailers. They traveled for ten months a year, visiting towns and villages to disseminate sanitary information and to hammer a "feminine" culture into the rural population's minds (*La Sección Femenina* 45). Once they arrived at the targeted community, those trailers and trucks were transformed into pavilions where SF members provided their workshops and settled for a month, approximately. There, among other courses, they taught music including lessons about the Gregorian chants, vernacular songs, little lullabies, and romances (45-48). The Cátedras expected something in return for their dedication. Thus, as soon as they parked, SF instructors were responsible for collecting folk music, and dances in disuse,

"guardadas en el recuerdo de los ancianos." A "specialized" teacher was in charge of collecting folk material to later teach it back to the local community "reconstruidos fielmente" (48).[9] Sección Femenina broke the process of heritage transmission because the *mandos* (officials) deemed their intervention necessary in order to produce a faithful repertoire of vernacular culture. Not only did they mistrust the intergeneration transmission of knowledge, but they also did not entrust that very vernacular repertoire to local populations.

The *afiliadas* (members) of the Cátedras met with peasants at sunset after these finished their work in the fields. They mainly gathered men and women in their sixties and seventies, who knew dances that had almost vanished. This process of entextualization did not always consist of a notation system. Sometimes, instructors made their informants repeat the steps until they became inscribed into instructors's bodies, as part of SF embodiment of vernacular culture. Oftentimes "informants" showed little enthusiasm for teaching their steps to the fascist strangers. In some villages and towns, the people flatly refused to perform for them. Sección Femenina faced resistance from guilds and brotherhoods, whose members did not want their dances to be appropriated (Lizarazu de Mesa 241). This type of behavior on the part of the people could be considered an exercise of sovereignty. In a context of cultural appropriation, Georges Didi-Huberman identifies resistance to the "cuerpo político integral" in people's poetics of language and body techniques (215); that is, people use their own jargon, dialect, as well as dances and knowledge as a sign of distinction in order to avoid being integrated into the political body. Those particularities further reinforced the people's exclusion from institutional policies, as they chose not to be clarified or simplified for assimilation. Either through peasant resistance or

[9] Instructors of Physical Education were often in charge of carrying out this task (see Lizarazu de Mesa, 241).

refusal to be integrated into the political body, rural communities tried to hinder Sección Femenina's cultural plunder.

In Tres Juncos—a small town in the province of Cuenca (Castile), the Cátedra Francisco Franco number 2, led by Carmen Odón, threw itself into the community for 45 days in 1960 (see Image 4). The myriad missions carried out by Sección Femenina were filmed and disseminated in the NO-DO newsreel, the official newscast of the Franco regime. A voice-over enthusiastically points out the work of the Cátedra Francisco Franco in Tres Juncos to save the town's folklore: "Para que no se pierdan los antiguos bailes que solo se conservan a veces entre las personas de edad y que los jóvenes iban olvidando, la Cátedra cumple también esta misión alegre de restaurar la vieja danza. Hacen bailar a los viejos para que aprendan los mozos y así la antigua jota vuelve a cobrar de nuevo su vitalidad" ("Enseñanza y Alegría" 05:13-05:36). The Cátedras' role was to create new formal spaces for those dances to be performed under their control and supervision.

Image 4. A SF instructor learning dancing steps from the local population. NO-DO, Revista de Imágenes no. 822 (1 Jan., 1960). Reproduced with permission from Filmoteca Española ©

Therefore, at the end of their stay, selected people of Tres Juncos danced the "reconstructed" version of those dances for the whole community to watch. Likewise, SF tried to impose new singing techniques on the local community. When men finished their country chores, they gathered so the Cátedra would "teach" them how to sing: "después de diversas enseñanzas útiles también ellos aprenden a tocar las viejas tonadas regionales con sentido afinado y coral" (00:05:58-06:01). The manner in which SF members made themselves indispensable was by adding to songs and dances unobjectifiable elements that only they possessed, such as a "choral sense." Sección Femenina treated vernacular knowledge as something broken that should be restored. The concepts of "reconstrucción" or "recomposición," verbalized in the NO-DO, rested on the idea that music and dances had been damaged and only SF's intervention could get them back to their original state. Yet this image of going back is misleading, since Sección Femenina did not aim to return to past times, but rather to make clear that the survival of certain things—such as music and dances—in the rural world required its own participation in their preservation. As a result, Sección Femenina imposed a reenactment of songs and dances, forcing the loss of their use-value within the community. They decontextualized and recontextualized vernacular productions in order to manage the institutionalization of folklore during the Franco regime.[10]

What it is truly novel about SF's *modus operandi* is the way it conceived of authenticity, as this notion demarcates what would potentially be a folk production and what would not. They came up with a concept of authenticity which distorted, from the beginning, any relationship between them and the people from the margins from whom they took their cultural production.

[10] Processes of decontextualization and recontextualization entail re-situating and re-temporalizing music, embedded in a system of unequal power relations that results in the creation of a new epistemology (see Bauman and Briggs, "Poetics and Performance"; and Ochoa Gautier).

This was so because subalterns—as the epitome of alterity—were nothing more than an aesthetic category, almost a reified ornament and, therefore, SF could alienate them discursively from their material conditions. If authenticity originally depended on the participation of those considered premodern others—as exposed by Bauman and Briggs in *Voices of Modernity*, Sección Femenina changed the criteria and made authenticity dependent on its own organization. In this epistemological turn, they intuited the social capacity of women to cross class boundaries and to present themselves in the public sphere as tradition bearers, such as the nursemaids referred by Lorca. Therefore, they constructed an image for themselves as transmitters of vernacular knowledge from one social class to another in order to authenticate their own role as folklorists.

Beginning in 1938, priest Rafael Benedito was commissioned to direct SF's training courses for music instructors ("Resumen de la Labor Musical" 1). As technical advisor of the Music Department, Benedito played a fundamental role in constructing the theoretical frame of Coros y Danzas. The training courses for musical instructors aspired to provide a folklore formation from material, mental, and spiritual perspectives ("material, mental y espiritual") ("Programa de Folklore Musical" 1). Sección Femenina had its own music curriculum, which included music theory, folklore, Gregorian chants, and music history, introducing new methodologies that are still part of music education in public schools nowadays.[11] While any song considered folk could be used for the study of music theory, regardless of its territory of origin, the rules for dances were rather different.[12] Each territory—or region as they framed

[11] From the 1950s onwards, the Orff Schulwerk method spread throughout Spain. Some members of Sección Femenina received scholarships to study this techniques abroad. This methodology marked the way to understanding musical education as more linked to language, rhythmic education, movement and dramatization, as well as the use of instruments such as the flute, the plate, and percussion, see Castañón Rodríguez (101-106).

[12] It is worth noting that dance was not among the first objectives of Sección Femenina when the Regiduría de Cultura was created in its Second National Council (1938). Estrella Casero points out that it was in the courses directed by Rafael Benedito in Vigo, Zamora and Valladolid where folklore began to be taught (65).

them—had to focus on the study of its own dances: "al pretender que los naturales de una misma Región estudien ó [sic] practiquen las Danzas de otra, por muy lindantes que éstas se encuentren, se ha observado pierden naturalidad en los movimientos y por lo tanto autenticidad. Por esta razón limitamos el estudio de la Danza a su propia Región" ("Estudio" 1). Thus, Sección Femenina settled the debate about contact among different territorial dances through an ontological argument. In their view, dancers would be unable to recreate movements realistically if they lacked certain telluric essences. Here they established their first boundary to separate what would be authentic and what would not.

As a consequence of this search for identity in vernacular compositions, SF courses tried to instill in instructors "un criterio valorativo de lo *consustancialmente español*" ("Estudio" 1; my emphasis). The word "consustancialmente" echoes the phenomena occurring in the doctrine of the Trinity, as father, son and holy ghost are three consubstantial persons. That knowledge of what is "consustancialmente español" would presumably prepare future instructors to identify a substance shared by all Spaniards within vernacular elements. Although specialization in the discipline of musicology would have equipped them to understand the complexities of their tasks, the SF focused on another kind of training based on more intangible and unobjectifiable tools, such as the essence of Spanishness. The instructor's task was not intended to be professionalizing Coros y Danzas but rather becoming a social instrument for interaction within different sectors of the Spanish population. Consequently, reviews of their performances were published in not specialized music magazines (Moreda, "La mujer que no canta" 633-634), as well as in the NO-DO newsreels popularizing their pervasive idea of folklore. Therefore, authenticity depended on the comrades' capacity to locate identitarian elements on those songs, dances, and traditional garbs.

When it came to collecting *villancicos* (Christmas carols), identity was defined in racial terms. The Regiduría Central de Cultura was especially keen on the collection and dissemination of carols. They construed this genre as truly Spanish. Roberto Pla was in charge of the introduction to the collection of "regional" carols edited by SF in 1956:

> La canción navideña viene a ser hoy una de las manifestaciones más puras, por su sencillez, del fervor religioso. Ante la Natividad del Señor, España se conmueve anualmente en todas sus latitudes y postrada ante el Niño Dios, canta amorosamente. Pero lo más bello de esta emoción española de cantar es que lo hace empleando las modalidades más auténticas como si un sentido pudoroso de intimidad le exigiera en este caso solemne, más que ningún otro, cantar con su lenguaje tradicional y propio. (Pla 3)

In this introduction, carols are fancied as the people's intimate expression, produced in the very bosom of their domestic realm. Traditionally women had been confined to private spaces as a way to restrict their presence in the public sphere and limit their agency. By presenting carols as an expression of intimacy, Pla opened the role to feminize carols, and to transform them into a legitimate field for SF to harvest. Carols are under the purview of Sección Femenina because its members, as women, had access to the most intimate spaces of the Spanish homes. Once again, Sección Femenina used a gendered rhetoric to assume a leading role in the institutionalization of folk music. Thus, the collection presents regional Christmas carols at a crossroads between an intimate expression and the true manifestation of the Spanish identity. Pla defined carols as the total expression of love for God, driven by the people through their "lenguaje más racial y más espontáneo" (3). The idea of a "racial" and "spontaneous" language fully places carols within the premises of Falangist Hispanicism and endows them with a sense of national uniqueness. Hispanism posed by Spanish conservatives was based on three pillars that had their tradition in

the spiritual empire: the Catholic religion, which gave unity and force to the Spanish people; a hierarchical society, based on the ideas of superiority within Spain but also between the "mother land" and the former colonies; and the Spanish language, which guaranteed "cultural unity" (Pérez Monfort 16-17). In Pla's introduction, carols are truly Hispanic as they consubstantiate the Catholic, the loving colonial mothering and the unity inscribed in the Spanish tradition. They are part of an immortal category tied to Miguel de Unamuno's concept of *intrahistoria*.

At the same time, SF's interest in this genre also related to the fact that carols are evoked on a recurring basis, every Christmas time. Therefore, Sección Femenina saw in this commodification of the genre and its subsequent dissemination a way to actively participate in society and to reserve for itself a space that required an annual intervention. A memorandum presumably sent in the 1950s by the Regiduría Central de Cultura to the Provincial Delegates stated that carols contests would be held annually coinciding with Christmas festivities ("Concurso de recogida de canciones y villancicos" 1).[13] Nonetheless, this pure and ontological conception of carols did not prevent SF members from soliciting a stylization of songs, underpinning their intervention in vernacular productions. The way they validated carols was by harmonizing melodies to two, three or even four voices, for choral sheet music (4). The institutionalization of these carols reached our time, as many of them, like "Pampanitos verdes, hojas de limón" from Andalusia, became very popular and are still part of playlists in shopping centers during Christmas.

Psychology was another criterion actively used in checking the "authenticity" of vernacular productions despite its conceptual vagueness. The notes that accompanied sheet

[13] Although the memo "Concurso de recogidas" kept the eligibility of participants wide open—general instructors, SF choir conductors, comrades participating in its courses, etc— in the book *Sección Femenina* the author stated that only Juventudes of SF (Youth) could take part on contests, and prizes would be granted to the best carols based on "quality and authenticity" (81).

music, dancing notations, and costume references—which are to a large extent archived today in the Biblioteca Nacional de España, most likely collected during the 1950s and 1960s—confirm that the techniques SF used to identify and entextualize folk culture alluded to attributed psychological characteristics to local communities. For instance, in evaluating a specific song as to whether it was purely Galician, they argued that the melody sounded "enxebre" (pure) and that the suspicion and sarcasm expressed in its lyrics underscored this idea. Etymologically the word "enxebre"—which the collector translates to Spanish as "castizo"—refers to something that has been kept separate from external influence: "Típica y característica 'pandeiretada' gallega. Muy fol-klórica, muy 'enxebre' (castiza)" ("Pandeiretada"). Originally the word "enxebre" was used in reference to cattle herding, indicating that after grazing, each animal would return to its spot in the farm organized by species (see Rivas Quintás 222; 540). The melody in question was authentic because it could be easily distinguished from non-Galician music. The collector used a Galician word to legitimate his or her choice of the song since it emphasized the idea that the *muiñeira* "Pandeiretada" had not mingled with elements foreign to a supposedly Galician identity. In the collector's view, the elements that expressed the true being of Galician peasants were psychological: "Si no fuese bastante la propia melodía para considerarla genuinamente gallega, bastaría la letra en la que se advierte la malicia y sorna de aquellos campesinos de apariencia melancólica al exterior, pero de íntimo sentido alegre y optimista" ("Pandeiretada"). The stanza that they collected—very likely it had more than one—showed Galician people's contempt for *caciques* (local political bosses):

Este pandeiro que toco
por moito que repenique
non teñas medo que rache

que [é] de coiro de cacique.

Although *pandeiros* (drums) were made out of animal skin, the particular drum mentioned in this stanza is said to be made of *cacique* skin, suggesting that the cacique might have been skinned. The song identifies animal features in the cacique—his skin is animal like—as he often behaved like a predator, abusing his power to exploit dispossessed people from rural communities. Yet there is some ambiguity in the lyrics with regard to the political action involved in the skinning. The notes that accompany the "Pandeirada" deactivate any political response on the people, suggesting that Galician people are "melancholic," "joyful," and "optimistic." In this reading, caciques are organic to the Galician political system, and therefore they are unbeatable, as so it is their skin in the drum. The sentimentality attributed to the Galician people in the notes mentioned above shadowed other possible interpretations of the lyrics,[14] such as the prospect of a violent action against the caciques who might have been skinned and whose skin could even been destroyed if you beat on the head of the drum fiercely enough.[15] The author of the notes did not analyze the lyrics critically and closely enough, instead he or she used reified words often connected to the alleged psychology of the Galician peasants: "melancólico," "alegre," and "optimista." Those words often match descriptions of Galiza in propaganda documents and ephemera, such as flyers, used by SF to promote its performances. As I analyze in Chapter 3, these ontological reenactments of Galician sentimentality were often disseminated by the Francoist regime to deactivate Galician sovereigntists' political actions.

Another example of this sort of stereotypical rhetoric might be found in SF's text "Canciones y Danzas de España" (1953), which insisted on the idea that the Galician mindset

[14] See Miguélez-Carballeira for an analysis on sentimentality in the construction of Galician identity.
[15] Paradoxically, the stanza was also reproduced by Suso Vaamonde (1950-2000), a Galician song-writer repressed by the regime for his progressive ideas. The song came up in his album "...Nin rosmar un laido" (1977).

was a combination of sweetness and melancholy, with an element of marine adventurousness, which reflected a behavior influenced by the land's climate, not by historical or social conditions: "En Galicia, prendida en el extremo Noroeste de España, el paisaje es siempre verde, dulce y melancólico. Los ríos, orillados de pinos y eucaliptos, son como brazos de plata que van hacia el mar, reflejando prados y montañas. En el paisaje, las aldeas y las ermitas ponen la nota gris de su nostalgia de soles, y más allá, soñando aventuras marineras, se alzan los pueblos de pescadores" (5). Those categories appear repeatedly in the archival notes as a way to legitimate the selection of songs, dances, and clothes, to the extent of suggesting that researchers did not analyze the lyrics to contrast their own prejudices.

Assessment criteria for folklore collection contests—one of the most popular activities organized around Coros y Danzas by SF—[16] included another intangible standard: "character." Character was a feature of musical arrangements made by SF members or consultants in the 1953 instructions for contests: "En la clasificación de los Coros se tiene muy en cuenta la afinación, *expresión* y *carácter* que el Coro dá a las canciones obligadas, así como el acierto de selección y autenticidad de las canciones elegidas a libre elección" ("Escrito" 3; my emphasis). Dances were appraised according to similar standards: "En los grupos de danzas se califica la ejecución, rítmo [sic], estilo, autenticidad y *carácter de la danza*, esto en cuanto a movimiento se

[16] In 1942, Sección Femenina held the first National Contests of Coros y Danzas. In this first edition, Father Nemesio Ontaño and the music critic Federico Sopeña were among the jury (Martí Roch 41), in so doing they legitimized the activities organized by the SF's Regiduría de Cultura with their authority. From that year on, Sección Femenina convened annual contests of songs and dances in order to systematically motivate the "recogidas," as they called the expeditions to the countryside to document music, dances, and clothing. The organization of contests changed throughout their history; nevertheless, they generally consisted of several stages at the local, regional, and, national level. There were three contest categories: one dedicated to choirs, another to dance, and the third one to mixed groups of dances and choirs. Other Francoist organizations or institutions, such as the Falangist Sindicato Español Universitario (Spanish University Union, SEU), were welcome to participate in contests except in the mixed category, restricted to the members of Sección Femenina. In the choir category, all groups were assigned three compulsory songs (including a Gregorian chant and a "regional" theme from a Spanish territory other than their own) and free choice of two original songs from their region or province. The sheet music and lyrics of those original songs had to be sent to Madrid a month ahead to check their authenticity.

refiere exigiéndose la máxima austeridad y exactitud en el vestuario teniendo muy en cuenta todos los detalles por pequeños e insignificantes que parezcan" (3; my emphasis). They added the caveat that "el mas pequeño *detalle de mal gusto* o que se aleje de lo auténtico rebajará la puntuación del grupo" (4). In all categories of singing and dancing, the rules illustrated the fact that performances were not simply a mimesis of what they found in rural areas to which SF members had gone in search of vernacular songs and dances that they conceived as raw material. On the contrary, contest criteria conferred a particular *character* upon the music and dances introduced as provincial representations of vernacular culture. Bad taste ("mal gusto")—presumably the inverse of the bourgeois *bon ton* so exalted during the nineteenth century—was penalized, although this element bore no relation to vernacular culture itself. It was something SF articulated within their own definition of folklore.

On the occasion of the 20th National Council in January 1960, Sección Femenina remind the singing techniques for instructors. There was a total lack of academic liberty: "que no queremos lucimiento personal de ellas o de los que dirigen los coros, que lo que queremos es *mejorar el gusto* y que canten cosas auténticas y bellas y no las cursilerías que se le puedan ocurrir a tal o a cual persona, y también insistir con las Instructoras en el tono, no deben las niñas gritar al cantar, no solo porque no es bonito, sino también porque puede ser perjudicial para sus cuerdas bucales [sic]" ("XX Consejo Nacional" 2; my emphasis). The *mandos* perceived something problematic in the singing techniques of working classes and peasants. Yelling was not decent enough for the Falangist woman, to the point of making the aesthetic distance between their performances and the peasant's way of singing irrelevant. Bourgeois *bon ton* was more precious than the working classes and peasants' style, even if they were the original transmitters of those songs. They relied on notions and aesthetics that had been used to instruct

the bourgeois woman to carry out an analogous attempt to instruct the working classes and the rural proletariat.

In 1971, for Coros y Danzas's 19th National Contest—now conceived as a festival—[17] SF *mandos* Maruja Sampelayo (Regidora de Cultura), Teresa Loring (Secretaria Nacional) and Nieves Punyet (Jefa de Juventudes), sent a letter to provincial delegates questioning their work on performances. They reminded local delegates of the rules for contests and the need to take care of every detail: "peinado, calzado, vestimenta y sobre todo largura de la falda" (1). They also criticized instrumentalists, whose interpretation they considered unsatisfactory from the assumption that musicians from urban areas had to play better than those from the countryside: "No me refiero a pueblos pequeños, donde ésto es natural, pero en la capital, gente que cobra y no mal, debe tener ya una calidad" (1). Dances were similarly subject to criticism, for lack of an "aire auténtico": "Hay bailes en que la canción dice 'que bonitos ojos tienes' y el muchacho está mirando al otro lado. Bailan muchas veces sin sentir lo que están haciendo, de forma mecánica y fría" (2). The aesthetic character of performances mattered more than their historical or anthropological value. While establishing a body policy, these women were institutionalizing an aestheticized spectacle out of vernacular music and dances, and so they had to establish their own criteria to justify their stamp.

The notion of authenticity ultimately depended on the authority of Sección Femenina's elite, located in Madrid, the urban capital. The Regidora de Cultura, Maruja Sampelayo, and Pilar Primo de Rivera had the final say on what was authentic and what was not. Proof of this

[17] In 1971, Maruja Sampelayo and Teresa Loring, SF National Secretary, sent a letter to the provincial delegates announcing that the contests would be transformed into festivals due to the lack of participants and the organization's precarious economic conditions. Despite eliminating prizes in festivals, there was not a substantial transformation from one format to another, since the Regiduría de Cultura still insisted on the need for competition among territories to find as many sources as possible, and, in turn, to accumulate folk material in SF archives.

were the 1953 rules established in the contests' final rounds with regard to the category of original songs from any region: "Estas canciones son enviadas con un mes de anticipación a la Regiduría Central de Cultura donde se estudia su autenticidad dándosele si se comprueba ésta es cierta, su aprobación" ("Escrito" 3). Paradoxically, this centralizing system did not take into account the fact that many songs were in languages other than Spanish, i.e., Basque, Catalan, Galician, Aranese, or Asturian. Sometimes the collectors had to include a Spanish translation of the lyrics, as it happened with the "Pandeiretada" above—which again evidences the lack of interest of the Regiduría Central de Cultura to truly assess whether songs, dances, and costumes, keep an aesthetic, cultural, and social proximity to the vernacular repertoire that still circulated among some communities. In the Council of 1960 mentioned above, Sección Femenina sent out a balance sheet on the work done and pending tasks while slapping local delegates on the wrist ("XX Consejo Nacional"). Criticism centered on the fact that many groups often launched into rehearsals without permission of the Regiduría Central, which was the only body capable of determining whether a song was authentic.[18] The same approval was required for the confection of traditional costumes. The only vote that truly counted to make an investment in clothing was Pilar Primo de Rivera's.

Notwithstanding the *mandos*' attitude, some critical voices appeared as the opportunity to raise their concerns about the functioning of Coros y Danzas came out. Although the archive I consulted was the result of a selection process controlled by SF members themselves, and so did not allow for many quibbles, it contains a questionnaire filled out by some of the provincial delegates in 1946 in which they expressed disagreement with the policy of the Regiduría Central de Cultura. Among the answers provided by local delegates from Ávila, Badajoz, Girona, Lleida,

[18] Any performance registered under the name of Coros y Danzas required the approval of the Regiduría Central de Cultura, as seen in "Oficio-Cirular nº671."

and Valencia, two issues stood out. First, most of the delegates agreed on the need to decentralize the system and give more autonomy to local sections, both in the field of contests and regarding the selection of instructors. Ávila's delegate suggested "concursos locales provinciales independientes de los nacionales," while the delegate from Girona advocated for "suprimir los concursos nacionales y hacer más trabajo local." She also advised that instructors should come from the same region to which they were appointed. Secondly, they emphasized the need to improve the training process of musical instructors in various ways, ranging from extending it over time to making it mandatory, or providing scholarships funded by city councils. In some instances, delegates blamed "la psicologia de los pueblos" for people's lack of curiosity about what SF deemed to be their own music and dancing.

Thus SF's own notion of folklore questions the paradigm provided by Bauman and Briggs, according to which male intellectual mediators—such as German folklorist Johann Gottfried Herder, with the capacity for linguistic reflexivity saw either women or over-refined intellectuals as "unsuited" for the processes of purification and cultivation of national cultural legacies:

> The male intellectuals, we might add, for women, too, are unsuited for the intellectual task. It is these intellectual mediators, then, who are charged with metadiscursive responsibility for the purity and cultivation of the nation's poetic legacy. Poised between the natural folk and the over-refined intellectuals, those intellectuals who are attuned to the folk spirit are best equipped to manage the recontextualization of folk poetry from the singing of its naive traditional custodians and to recast it as the consciously cultivated vernacular touchstone of national culture. (193)

In order to legitimize the overarching authority of the *mandos*, who lacked the aura of the male intellectual mediator, Sección Femenina took recourse to the Christian medieval past.[19] In music textbooks for Bachillerato academic program—prior attending university—and in the manuals for music instructors, Maestro Rafael Benedito reserved a privileged spot for the Gregorian chants, and the *Cantigas de Santa María* collected by Alfonso X, known as the Wise, as if they had planted the seed of Sección Femenina's future work. Both projects were aimed at collection and dissemination of vernacular lyrics and music. Regarding Gregorian chant, Benedito insisted that once the "collection" was carried out, a selection process was applied to the materials. Subsequently, a group of instructors based in Rome traveled throughout the Christian lands to disseminate that corpus, a task that resembled SF's folklore project. I propose, therefore, that Sección Femenina proclaimed itself a successor of compilation tasks in the manner of those attributed to Pope Gregory, by creating a discursive bond between their activities:

> San Gregorio llamado el Grande, estableció el Código de la música sagrada. Escogió los cantos más representativos de todos los países cristianos; depuró los antiguos que el uso había amanerado; corrigió lo que no era digno de culto y procuró difundir la unidad en el canto eclesiástico instituyendo cerca de él, en Roma, una Escuela de Cantores que después eran enviados como instructores por todos los lugares de la Cristiandad. (*Cuarto Curso Bachillerato* 4)

The process of decontextualization and recontextualization developed by Sección Femenina was similar to the one described by Rafael Benedito: "depuration" and "correction" of elements exogenous to the Falangist doctrine. Similarly, Benedito's reference to Alfonso the Wise's

[19] Falangists considered that the Catholic Monarchs had given birth to the most important Spanish endeavors of all times: the destruction of the Arab political system and the American Conquest. Thus, the imperial myth of the Middle Ages in the Iberian Peninsula, through the Catholic Monarchs, was a model for the fascist project.

Cantigas, written in Galician-Portuguese, as a symbol of medieval political power in the midst of disputes between the Castilian Crown and the clerical power settled in Santiago de Compostela (Vilavedra 63-64), works well for Sección Femenina in its attempt to show itself as a heir of this medieval project.[20] This analogy could also be a metaphor for the rivalry between the Church and the Falange within the Franco regime. By the same token, Alfonso X's legacy would also constitute sufficient endorsement for SF to include lyrics from vernacular songs in the non-Castilian languages of the Iberian Peninsula. I maintain that both of the medieval examples presented by Benedito served to construe Sección Femenina as a true heir of medieval collectors and inscribe it into such a genealogy, granting the women's organization enough authority to fulfill its role as folklorists in mediating between the common people and the public sphere.

At the same time, Sección Femenina was contemporary to other folklore projects both in Spain and abroad. Researcher Luis Calvo details how in 1943, under Franco, the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científica (CSIC, Spanish National Research Council) created a Folklore Section within the Instituto Español de Musicología (IEM), promoted by Higinio Anglès, former head of the Department of Music in the National Library of Catalonia, and the escaped Nazi Marius Schneider.[21] In the CSIC's annual report for the year 1944, the IEM congratulates itself on the incorporation of Schneider, at the time director of the Phonogram Section of the Ethnography Museum in Berlin. As a result of this new recruitment, the Council entrusted to the IEM "la recolección, el estudio y la edición de nuestro Cancionero popular."

[20] Only the Virgin Mary could compete with St. Jacob, therefore, the Wise king used this collection as propaganda to transform Toledo into a pilgrimage center. In order to distance the *cantigas* from sacred music, Alfonso the 10th employed a Romance language in the composition, instead of Latin, the official language of the Church (Vilavedra 63-64).

[21] When the Instituto Español de Musicología (Spanish Institute of Musicology, IEM) was first founded in 1941, Higinio Anglès became its first director. The IEM focused on rediscovering and promoting "treasures" of the Spanish musical tradition. To that end, they followed musicologist and folklorist Felip Pedrell's ideas on cataloging, collecting, transcribing, and editing (Moreda Rodríguez, "Early Music in Francoist Spain" 214-217).

Marius Schneider was equipped with Nazi *Volkskunde* methodologies to carry out a resignification of the Iberian folklore in more professional terms. Specialists would be expected to prepare collections of unpublished folk music materials, destined to form part of a *Cancionero popular español*, since so far that task had been in the hands of "aficionados," the report claimed (176-177). The IEM was a male-dominated institution that, despite having interests similar to those of Sección Femenina, did not take into consideration the work done by Coros y Danzas. Musicologist Eva Moreda considers that there was no sense of rivalry between those institutions; they simply followed different paths. While the IEM targeted the intellectual and academic circles of the regime as their audience, Sección Femenina aimed toward a widespread public. According to Moreda, it responded to the Franco regime's bureaucratic gendering, stratifying the level of music specialization that each gender should manage ("'La mujer que no canta'" 633-634). While I side with Moreda's reading that Coros y Danzas had to deal with stratification in gender specialization within the dictatorship, I also consider it pertinent to indicate that gender allowed the creation of a symbolic link between SF members and other female historical figures, such as the traditional nursemaids who transmitted vernacular poetry from the agricultural proletariat to the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy. As discussed above, Sección Femenina created formal spaces of heritage transmission, so that its members became intermediaries refashioning a role that had been traditionally played by women.

Furthermore, throughout the twentieth century Spain had become a destination for anthropologists and folklorists from liberal democracies who worked to collect its vernacular cultural productions, such as Ruth Mathilda Anderson in the 1920s and 1940s, Alan Lomax in the 1950s, Gustav Henningsen in the 1960s, and Dorothé Schubarth in the 1970s, whose disciplinary techniques, more horizontal and diverse, began to signal the exhaustion of the more

top-down folklore project represented by the IEM and Coros y Danzas. The quote by Alan Lomax that opens this chapter reflects this change in the paradigm of authenticity and authorization elaborated by Bauman and Briggs, as Lomax showed a renewed caring for the people, subordinating the folklore project to the folk's needs: "We have to defend them, to interpret to them what is going on in the world which they do not make, but which begins to move in upon them and crush their culture" (qtd. in Baron 281-282). Notwithstanding the paternalistic undertone of this quote, Lomax sought to improve the material conditions of the rural proletariat and other minorities in the USA, having at their disposal a microphone to speak and sing for themselves. And he also shared the revenues of his discography with his informants. Lomax's views on folklore must be understood against the backdrop of the constitution of scholarly folklore, the expansion of the American Folklore Society, and the definition of what constituted American folklore after folklorist Roger Abrahams's influential works.[22]

Alan Lomax coincided in time and space with Coros y Danzas.[23] In an exchange with them, recalled by Lomax, one of the SF folklorists suggested to "bring her troop [sic] in to do their act," so that he could record them. According to Lomax's notes, he refused the offer "with fifteen minutes of polite explanation" (J. Cohen, "Following Alan Lomax" 3). Despite the fact

[22] See Regina Bendix's Chapter 5.

[23] Alan Lomax began his career as a music collector in 1933 with his father John Lomax, when they made a trip to the south of the US. They made a collection of music from the black prisons of the South after their field trips. Lomax father and son considered that people locked up in prisons had nothing to lose by singing songs banned in American society, which instead were chased out of jail. From this experience, Lomax got the idea that folk music was a counter-hegemonic art. The prisoners used those songs to synchronize their forced labor in groups. In this manner, groups of solidarity and identity links were created that differentiated them from the guards who inflicted them pain (Baron 296). His vision of folklore was influenced by the functionalist current, popularized by the British scholar Bronislaw Malinowski. Functionalism was based on the idea that cultural practices exist because they have a use and a goal in the communities that maintain them: "Lomax held that folk music was a democratic art that came from local communities, both rural and urban. Since the music was an oral tradition, various community members amended traditional folk songs as they passed from generation to generation; and, since it was a people's art, anyone could generate a folk song based on his/her life experiences" (Donaldson 64). Under the pressures of the McCarran Act and due to his sympathies for the Communist Party's Popular Front, Alan Lomax traveled to the United Kingdom to work for the BBC (Cohen and Donaldson 39-41). During this time he also visited other European countries including Spain where he spent seven months in the 1950s.

that the majority of SF's members were urbanites and petty bourgeoisie, Coros y Danzas presented themselves as organic extensions of local communities. They saw themselves as embodying a subaltern culture, deliberately ignoring their own exogenous intervention. Yet Alan Lomax despised SF's understanding of folklore and how Coros y Danzas traded with vernacular culture in exchange of power within the regime. Unlike Sección Femenina, he opposed folk contests, as he found them too "showy" (R. D. Cohen 98). Lomax also advocated for a decentralization of cultural productions, while Sección Femenina concentrated the bulk of their archive in Madrid and submitted it to their own parameters.

Alan Lomax's participation in the Spanish folklore landscape differed from SF's *modus operandi* in their relationship with the people. In fact, Lomax sent copies of the scores and lyrics he assembled to his informants, addressing them as interlocutors and thanking them for their help: "Those who remember Alan Lomax are, without exception, positive and affectionate in their reminiscences of him. One called that the money he had sent from the BBC for the songs they used allowed her to feed her children, as a recent widow, that winter" (Gregory 23). Thus, despite his disgust for Franco, Alan Lomax was pleasantly surprised to see that vernacular music had managed to survive the horrors of the Civil War and the postwar. His foray into Spanish folklore was essentially antifascist, and he felt "faint and sick at the sight of this noble people, ground drown by poverty and a police state" (qtd. in Banon 294). That feeling pushed him to deepen the study of Spanish folklore, after a meeting with Schneider, of the IEM:

> In the summer of 1953 [meant 1952], I was informed by Columbia that publication of my series depended on my assembling a record of Spanish folk music, and so, swallowing my distaste for El Caudillo and his works, I betook myself to a folklore conference on the island of Mallorca with the aim of finding myself a Spanish editor . . . . the professor who

> ran the conference [Marius Schneider] ...was a refugee Nazi, who had taken over the Berlin folk song archive after Hitler had removed its Jewish chief...in charge of folk music research at the Institute for Higher Studies [CSIC] in Madrid...he let me know that he personally would see to it that no Spanish musicologist would help me. He also suggested that I leave Spain.
>
> I had not really intended to stay. I had only a few reels of tape with me and I had made no study of Spanish ethnology. This, however, was my first experience with a Nazi, and, as I looked across the luncheon table at this authoritarian idiot, I promised myself that I would record the music of the benighted country if it took me the rest of my life. (qtd. in J. Cohen, "Following Alan Lomax" 2)

His diary notes of those months also show the fear that existed during the Franco regime of singing certain songs when the police or the Spanish law enforcement agency, *Guardia Civil,* were lurking: "The black-hatted and dreadful Guardia Civil had me on their lists—I will never know why, for they never arrested me. But apparently, they always knew where I was. No matter in what God-forsaken, unlikely spot in the mountains...they would appear like so many black buzzards carrying with them the stink of fear—and then the musicians would lose heart" (qtd. in J. Cohen, "Following Alan Lomax" 3). When Lomax was in Mallorca, an old man sang for him some obscene lyrics in Balearic (a dialect variant of Catalan). The man's son reprimanded his father for singing that type of lyrics in front of a stranger, to which the father replied that he would not find a better audience than singing for an American professor, who would not understand them (3).

It is not surprising that in their last years of activity and with the rise of other types of ethnographic or folklore work, Sección Femenina considered more professionalized models of

folklorization. There is a cyclical element in this change since it echoes Coros y Danzas' first attempts to become a professional folklore structure. At the end of the 1960s, Sección Femenina had designed a somewhat ambitious project, the Centro de Estudios y Pedagógico de la Danza Española (Center for Studies and Pedagogical of Spanish Dance). Although it never came to fruition, the proposal stressed the importance of conducting fieldwork properly. In this document, which I found in the Real Academia de la Historia, the authors sketched out the professional training of "misioneros o misioneras" who would periodically visit areas well-known for their folk dance production. For this center, they planned the installation of innovative equipment, such as recorders, which most of Coros y Danzas's troupes lacked of ("Centro de Estudios" 2-4). Overall, they wanted to formalize the work that Sección Femenina had been doing with an amateur spirit.

In the 1970s, when Sección Femenina started to find competitors in folklore societies and other institutions, Sampelayo and Loring issued a letter encouraging local delegates to improve their research methods: "En la actualidad se esta [sic] dando mucha importancia a los estudios de folklore y es preciso que nosotras tengamos cada vez mas exigencias en el material de archivo en todo lo que se organice, que ya que lo pusimos en marcha y conseguimos ineresar [sic] no solo a España, sino al mundo continuemos cada vez con mas exigencia en esta importante labor" (1). Therefore, the *mandos* acknowledged Coros y Danzas's limitations with regard to folklore. Their own parameters concerning the notions of authenticity and authority had challenged the categories imposed by experts of anthropology, linguistics, and antiquarianism since the eighteenth century, but that opened up an unexplored space for them as folklore agents and the institutionalization of Spanish folklore. They have created new categories for self-legitimation, such as psychology or character that diminished the value of authenticity, while they constructed

authority based on a gendered vision of folklore emanated from the bourgeois tradition, which posed women as vessels of vernacular culture.

1.2 Embodying Vernacular Culture in the Name of Franco and the Falange

Sección Femenina not only established the terms and conditions for defining folklore, as well as their role as collectors, but it also disseminated the repertoire it assembled in forums that went beyond archives and temporary exhibitions in Spain. In this manner, Coros y Danzas was meant to become a living reproduction of the communal relationships that still existed somewhere else. Sección Femenina believed that its labor surpassed the limits of the archive: "lo más original y atrayente de este archivo es que no queda la canción o danza plasmada o 'disecada' en su correspondiente ficha para estudio de una minoría de curiosos o eruditos en la materia sino para que por medio de los grupos de Coros y Danzas se le dá sonido, rítmo, movimiento, color y vida, se presenta ante eruditos y profanos en toda su auténtica realidad" ("Escrito" 6). They did not even consider that their performances were also "stuffed and mounted" dances and songs, in contrast to more spontaneous vernacular productions. Scholar Diana Taylor points out that "archival memory" always implies a separation between the source of knowledge and the knower. It sets a distance in time and space. She theorizes about the notion of repertoire, which captures the production and reproduction of a deed. Unlike the stable materials of the archive, repertoires are subject to alterations in how they are embodied and they require presence of people for knowledge to be produced and reproduced. For that reason, Taylor believes that live performances cannot be kept in the archive: "The live performance can never be captured or transmitted through the archive.

> A video of performance is not a performance, though it often comes to replace the performance as *a thing* in itself (the video is part of the archive; what it represents is part of the repertoire). Embodied memory, because it is live, exceeds the archive's ability to capture it" (20; emphasis in the original). In this regard, Sección Femenina failed to conceptualize the limitations of their archive, as the members of Coros y Danzas did not distinguished between their own re-production of the repertoire and the performance from the countryside that they recorded and archived.

In its attempt to disseminate the repertoire it collected, Sección Femenina ended up rhetorically transforming its members into a self-exoticized rural community and emphasizing their alterity. Among SF's documents, I found a radio script titled "Spanish Festival Dancers," allegedly broadcasted in Hollywood, California, in 1950. One of the presenters was Antonio Moreno, a Hollywood actor of Andalusian origin, who had been very successful in the film field.[24] In the script, the first presenter, identified as Wecker, pointed out the fact that SF's dancers were not professional. He argued that they were, by contrast, taken directly from Spanish villages to international stages, for people to see genuine Spanish folk culture:

> Wecker: ". . . Tonight we have the honor to present the festival provincial dancers of Spain. I believe your enjoyment of this program will be enhanced if we tell you just what these dancers do. Many of you may assume that they are a professional traveling company, such as the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, or the Ballet Theatre. To the contrary, these dancers present the distilled essence of Spanish folk art. The dances they will perform and the music you will hear are exactly as you would see and her [sic] them were you present at a festival in their native village squares. Their costumes are not stylized

[24] See Fernández for a biographical note on Antonio Moreno.

> theatrical costumes—they are, so to speak, their Sunday clothes, from their own personal wardrobes, and are what they would wear if their [sic] were dancing at home. The dancers have been sent to this and other nations as a gesture of good will on the part of a Spanish Civic Organization, interested in the care and welfare of underprivileged children of Spain—as well as in the preservation of the beautiful folk lore of Spain. ("Script. Spanish Festival Dancers")

The broadcasts' process of transforming Coros y Danzas's comrades into subaltern subjects was total thorough. They were no longer urban girls belonging to the petty bourgeoisie or to a quixotic aristocracy. Coros y Danzas became an embodiment of rural people themselves, as they refashioned and reified vernacular cultures, denying the relationship between the rural bearer's conditions of work and life, and their cultural identity. Therefore, discursively, there was no difference between seeing Coros y Danzas at a festival in Hollywood and visiting a rural Spanish community on a Sunday or holiday. This rhetoric of cultural incarnation also insisted on the idea that Coros y Danzas were an expression of authenticity against false imitations of Spanish folklore. Although the text aimed to distance the troupes from other commercial spectacles, it did not escape a hygenizing language. The program insists on the authenticity of Coros y Danzas, but unwittingly conveys the troupe's meddling by forming in the reader the idea of a "distilled" essence, i.e., an essence that is only achieved through a laboratory process. This discourse converges with another of total incarnation, as it inadvertently exposes that the spectacle of Coros y Danzas is, indeed, the result of a selection process, based on notions of identity, psychology and character, as I showed above.

A year later, in 1951, Sección Femenina prepared a show in France that reflected the same rhetoric of total incarnation. In the brochure that advertised the performance, the French

audience was promised that it would be spared from having watched *españoladas*[25]—which had become fashionable there at the turn of the century—as soon as they enjoyed the benefits of Coros y Danzas:

> Les Espagnols ont une profonde horreur des mauvaises imitations que les étrangers font de leurs danses ou de leurs chants nationaux. 'Españoladas,' disent-ils dédaigneusement. Les toreros de Blasco Ibáñez caricaturés involontairement par les cinéastes d'Hollywood les crispent et bien souvent les commentaires d'admirateurs étrangers les font sourire comme autant de démonstrations d'incompréhension. ("Chansons et Danses Populaires D'Espagne" 2)

The text misled the audience by letting them assume that behind SF's performances there was no choreography, no rehearsals, and no discipline. It replicated the idea that Coros y Danzas's girls were the same people one would find in a town square dancing spontaneously: "Ces jeunes filles danseront devant le public parisien comme elles dansent un soir de fête sur la place de leur village" (2). Reading the brochure, it was presumably clear that the members of Coros y Danzas were not artists—an ill reputed profession, but mere townspeople who for the first time left their homes for the world outside in order to reproduce exactly what they expressed daily in their "spontanéité primitive." The performance promises an in situ display of rural peasants, that is, the experience of immersing and "engaging the life world as the ultimate exhibition of itself " (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 3-4). This rhetoric also served to corroborate that not all Spaniards were Roma people or Arab descendants. It contributed to casting a different racial imaginary about Spain in a country—France—where it was ostensibly a commonplace that Africa started in the Pyrenees. Fascist Spain wanted to offer a different image; there existed within the Peninsula

[25] Dance Historian Idoia Murga defines *española*da as the construction through a performance of a myth of Spanishness linked to the picturesque and exotic (38).

music of a more European taste than the Andalusian songs often associated with the Roma people: "chaque région d'Espagne constitue un foyer d'art ardent où l'on entretient jalousement les traditions locales.…L'Espagne a bien d'autres aspects que celui qu'offrent ses gitans d'Andalousie. C'est cette diversité que présentent les danseuses et danseurs des groupes folkloriques" (2). In this way, SF casted Coros y Danzas as an exportable version of a vernacular culture racially organic to the fascist ideology.

Now, if Sección Femenina was not *representing* the Spanish people because their troupes were already an extension of them, that is, these girls embodied the people's customs and discursively and symbolically assumed that they were part of Spanish rural communities, whom did Coros y Danzas represent? My reading here is that Sección Femenina had difficulty defining itself ontologically while abroad.

The first major diplomatic performance by Sección Femenina took place in Nazi Germany, and the organization therefore showed close ties with fascist cultural policies, largely intended to prove that they were capable of perfecting vernacular aesthetics through their essentialist approach. Coros y Danzas traveled to Germany in 1942 as a sign of support to the Axis powers during the Second World War. It was not a secret that the Spanish Falange was interested in supporting Hitler militarily and that this symbolic intervention—along with the military contribution of the Spanish *División Azul*, the Spanish fascist troops fighting for Nazi Germany on the Russian front—seemed important to the party. The top three troupes of the First National Contest of Coros y Danzas, from Pontevedra, Lleida, and Salamanca, were awarded a propaganda trip to Germany in order to take part in a celebration of the *Hitlerjugend* (Hitler Youth, HJ). To commit to this trip, they had to rehearse under the supervision of Rafael Benedito and Carmen Salas, even as they also received fascist ideological training from Pilar Primo de

Rivera herself. In addition to their respective provincial dances, the groups sang religious canticles, hymns, and local songs. As scholar Beatriz Martínez del Fresno has argued, the troupes performed with a sense of dominance over the communist enemy (396-399). However, the defeat of the Axis countries caused Falange's power to falter in comparison to other organizations within the Francoist regime, forcing Sección Femenina to establish a new loyalty towards the Franco regime at the expense of the completion of Falange's program.

In the midst of their ontological conundrum, Sección Femenina had to become an aesthetic appendix of the Regime, entitled to fulfill a cultural diplomatic mission. They were the pretty face of the Francoist dreadful project, and they spread it outside Spain, albeit experiencing some altercations. After the collapse of the Axis' powers, the groups of Coros y Danzas toured America, Middle Eastern countries and often went to their neighbor European states. In these trips, there was always someone from SF in charge, named *jefes de expedición* (expedition chiefs), but Pilar Primo de Rivera did not usually attend such endeavors. The trips by ship to America in the late-1940s and 1950s were perhaps the most relevant for SF's propaganda purposes. After a period of forced ostracism due to the regime's association with international fascism, expeditions to Latin America began in 1948, traveling first to Argentina and Brazil. It was Eva Perón's visit to Spain in 1947 that opened up the country's peremptory autarchy. From that moment on, Coros y Danzas were transformed into a kind of "embajada cultural del franquismo" that toured the globe in search of recognition (Ortiz, "Folclore, tipismo y política" 6). The idea about the trip to Argentina came up at the Castillo de la Mota, the favorite residence of Queen Isabella I of Castile, and headquarters of the Escuela Mayor de Mandos "Jose Antonio,"[26] during the visit of the Argentine ambassador Pedro Radio. He and some *mandos* of

[26] See Aguilar Carrión for an analysis on the symbolic value of the Castillo de la Mota.

Sección Femenina arranged the details of the trip: in 1948 Coros y Danzas would travel in a cargo ship named *Monte Albertia* belonging to the Aznar Shipping Company, and under the command of Eulalia "Lali" Ridruejo and Maruja Sampelayo (Amador Carretero 105).

The opportunity to travel abroad and to establish links with other agents of the culture industry led the *mandos*, on the one hand, to become aware of their own role and autonomy—or lack of it—within the Franco regime; and on the other it led the comrades, who danced and sang, to acknowledge the fact that they did not live in a democratic country. At the same time, the international arena was a perfect scenario for the exposure of an unsolved tension at the core of SF, that is, to whom did they profess loyalty? To the Falangist project—their original enterprise—or to the Francoist state—on which their survival depended? This dialectic is well-reflected in some letters in which the *mandos* are grateful to be identified as part of the Spanish Falange, yet express attachment to Franco. As I will show below, in the correspondence maintained between the expedition chiefs and Pilar Primo de Rivera, there are references to economic, political, and logistical problems that took place during these propaganda trips and that evidence both Sección Femenina's limitations as a gender-based organization and its ambitions for power. Here, I side with Eva Moreda and Carmen Ortiz that reckoned that Sección Femenina was an organization with a political role, but within the limits of domesticity. But, at the same time, it was precisely this impersonation of femininity that secure for them masculine empowerments, as Jo Labanyi noticed ("Resemanticizing Feminine Surrender" 88).

Regarding economic conditions, the gender gap between male and female performers was blatant. The subaltern role that women had with respect to men under the Franco regime was exported abroad. Indeed, it showed that Sección Femenina lacked a feminist agenda; the situation of women within Coros y Danzas was of total economic vulnerability and SF agency

abroad was not going to change this, but rather reinforce it by showing a solid coherence with their alleged otherness as the "weaker sex." In relation to important matters, money was managed by men, just as it happened in 1950, when—as documented by Mercedes Sanz Bachiller—the dictator of the Dominican Republic Rafael Trujillo, who ruled the country from 1930 to 1961, made a donation of $5,000 specifically for Coros y Danzas, and Ambassador Manuel Aznar decided to retain half the quantity for future shipments of sugar to Spanish schools, as well as to pay expenses for the ship's stay in the harbor of Ciudad Trujillo at that time. Moreover, as a "Carta-Circular" of 1958 stipulated, in reference to a trip to Cuba, while musicians—who were mainly men—got paid for their performances, Coros y Danzas girls did not receive any money ("Carta-Circular").[27] Only in case of surplus would the troupe's female singers and dancers receive a small compensation, so that those with fewer resources could get spending money for expenses beyond basic costs, which were covered by the organization. That small income depended on the revenues, and for the most part the situation was bad for singers and dancers, who did not even have enough money to buy stamps and write to their families, as shown in a letter by Elisa "Lula" de Lara sent from Paris in 1952: "Por lo pronto te diré que, a los dos meses de haber salido de España, sólo les hemos dado dietas tres días, y a estas alturas la mayoría anda ya sin poder fumar un cigarrillo ni comprar un sello para escribir a la familia" (1).[28] On several occasions, the price of tickets to the performances was not enough to cover the high cost of the trips. In the same letter, Lula de Lara told Pilar Primo de Rivera that in London

[27] The "Carta-Circular" of 1958 was sent with regard to a trip to Cuba. There, SF stipulated that the members of Coros y Danzas would not receive any fiduciary compensation, except musicians, who were paid in accordance with their contracts.

[28] Sección Femenina did not care much about the economic situation of their comrades. Katheleen Richmond tells in her book *Women and Spanish Fascism* how in the 1944 Concentration in El Escorial (Madrid) Rosalía Pemán (one of the affiliates to SF) and her colleagues were given two boiled eggs and a small loaf of bread for a sixty-hour trip. Upon arriving after two hours of instructional exercises under the sun and a sightseeing tour, many of her traveling companions fainted from hunger (74).

their suitcases were seized because they could not meet the hotel bill, and they had to go to the embassy—a male-dominated institution—to be economically rescued.

To make matters worse, Sección Femenina was in the eye of the storm because of its alliances with the Nazis after World War II ended. The Franco regime tried to get rid of fascist symbology without completely breaking its ideological ties to the Axis powers. However, these connections had to be hidden for propaganda purposes. The so-called "ratlines" were a web that allowed Nazis to escape to Latin America through Spain to avoid being judged for war crimes and crimes against humanity. Some of the *mandos*, such as Clara "Clarita" Stauffer—born to a German father and a Nazi supporter herself, were very active in ensuring escape routes for Nazis during those years, as novelist Almudena Grandes documented in her novel *Los pacientes del doctor García* (2017). David A. Messenger describes how, although the Franco dictatorship had been an important factor in the construction of these networks, by 1947 it started to cut support for deportations (477). The above unresolved tension between loyalty to the Falange or to Franco inside the women's organization was visible in early trips to Latin America, when the rescue networks still worked, but without Franco's support. In a letter that Vicky Eiroa—co-founder of SF and in charge of Foreign Affairs—sent to Pilar Primo de Rivera from Lima on October 1, 1949, Eiroa noted the existence of connections between their organization and the ratlines. At that point, the ambassador to Argentina, José María Areilza, appeared uneasy about the movements of Clara Stauffer and Celia Jiménez. As I can infer from the letter, Jiménez, the so-called godmother of the *División Azul*, tried to organize an event of "Ayuda a los Refugiados" (Aid to Refugees)—meaning Nazi refugees—for which she demanded the help of the Ambassador, who refused to liaise with them. Moreover, Areilza was trying to separate Clara Stauffer's actions—whose activities "he does not like," as the letter states—from the Spanish

embassy before Evita Perón. To this, Clara's husband responded sending an anonymous letter threatening to denounce the Spanish Embassy in Montevideo for issuing a fake passport to an unspecified person.[29] Vicky Eiroa stressed Primo de Rivera's idea that Falange should not be hold accountable for Stauffer and Jiménez's actions:

> En cuanto a lo de Clarita y Celia Jimenez, Areilza agradeció que tú le mandaras a decir que no te hacías responsable [de la] actuación que, por supuesto no era en nombre de la Falange. Parece que la actuación de Clarita no le gusta… él hizo todo lo posible porque no apareciera ligada a la Embajada. Para mayor desgracia el marido de Clarita se permitió mandarle un anónimo amenazándo [sic] con denunciar a la Embajada en Montevideo y publicar lo de su pasaporte falso, etc, etc. (1)

Even if the pieces of this puzzle are incomplete, the letter does show that there were tensions between the embassies and Sección Femenina over suspicion about the latter's activities. Clara Stauffer's leading role in the *Hilfsverein* also proves how some of the *mandos* were willing to undertake their own political actions outside the framework dictated by the Franco regime, thus challenging SF's hierarchical unity while using Coros y Danzas to achieve some autonomy in their activities.

The tensions between Sección Femenina and Spanish diplomats abroad—an appendix of the Francoist bureaucracy—were recurrent. In their correspondence with Pilar Primo de Rivera, the *mandos* often referred to members of the diplomatic body with pejoratives such as "tonto," "imbécil," or "cerdos."[30] Such degrading comments in reference to diplomats did not meet the rules of behavior that SF imposed on its Coros y Danzas comrades, showing a double standard

[29] The letter talks about "el marido de Clarita" (Clarita's husband). However, I could not found any reference to her husband in other sources.
[30] The *mandos* also reported mishaps with the diplomatic festivities in which alcohol and drugs were consumed (Stehrenberger 233).

on the part of high-ranking officers. As a former dancer recalled, it was strictly forbidden to use insults or words considered obscene in the frame of their activities, to the extent that if they wanted to urinate in the middle of a bus trip, instead of pointing that out, they should sing: "las margaritas son, flores del campo" (qtd. in Hernández Abad 119).

Clashes with the diplomatic staff were rather constant because the *mandos* mistrusted their abilities, especially if they were not members of the Spanish Falange. Hence Vicky Eiroa's astonishment when the opposite occurred, as she described to Pilar Primo de Rivera in a letter sent from Caracas in January 1950: "En realidad los ministros que no son falangistas nos han atendido mejor y con menos miedo." Not even Miguel Primo de Rivera, ambassador to London in 1952 and Pilar's brother—who was very reticent regarding Coros y Danzas—could escape the discomfort caused by the Francoist diplomatic body to SF. Lula de Lara complaint in a letter to Pilar that he did not help out Coros y Danzas when the troupes were under economic pressure during their tour in London (Lara 2).

The epitome of these strains within Sección Femenina to define themselves in the Francoist regime is reflected in a letter written by Maruja Sampelayo, sent from France a year earlier, in April 1951, where she jotted down: "ya supongo habréis leido noticias en Madrid <u>la troupe falangista la más amiga de Franco</u>. Hemos de agradecerles que nos hayan presentado ya que nosotras no podíamos hacerlo, así que todo el mundo lo sabe y todo el mundo aplaude y hace salir varias veces a escena a las chicas y aquí gracias a Dios nadie las llama artistas pues la gente ha aprendido perfectamente lo que son y la prensa roja lo ha explicado bien" (emphasis in the original). Sampelayo approved of the French reportages because they made plain SF's folklore project. French critics underlined the fact that the dancers were not artists, while inferring that they were representatives of a fascist ideology. Sección Femenina had established through its

propaganda a discursive construct according to which the members of Coros y Danzas were literally an exportable sample of the rural communities of Spain. Yet this identification as non-artists by the French press opened the door for a new identity of Coros y Danzas as a political agent. Consequently, the representation regime laid out by Sampelayo, once Sección Femenina had been unmasked as "la troupe falangista la más amiga de Franco," pointed to Falange, as the letter made it clear that success was not attributable simply to a dance company, but rather to a specific political party, the Falange. On the one hand, Coros y Danzas made Falange visible at the expense of the other ideological sectors of the regime, i.e., the Church, the technocrats, the Army, the Carlists, etc.; but, on the other hand, Maruja Sampelayo was also aware of the fact that being identified as Falangists by the media threatened the whitewashing process the Franco regime had instituted to distance itself from Hitler and Mussolini. That is why she also mentioned that SF could not recognize itself as Falangist: "Hemos de agradecerles que nos hayan presentado ya que nosotras no podíamos hacerlo." Indeed, Sección Femenina participated in that revisionist process merely to avoid extinction,[31] and yet still felt proud of being perceived as Falangist. The ambiguity in Sampelayo's letter proves once more that tensions within the organization were unresolved. Eventually, she confessed to Pilar Primo de Rivera that the criticism they received had made her a Franco supporter: "Creo que yo no tengo más prudencia pues es mucho aguantar tanto meterse con la Falange, España y Franco, yo me he vuelto franquista desde que estoy aquí." The confession illustrates two things: first of all, that before her experiences abroad with Coros y Danzas, the disputes within Francoism had preclude her from feeling truly attached to the regime; and, second, that in order to maintain their identity as

[31] Scholar Sofía Rodríguez López argues that Sección Femenina went through a process of recatholicization in the 1940s, as a consequence of the international order ("La Sección Femenina" 241).

Falangists, SF members had to be Francoist as well. There was no way to remain identified as Falangist without identifying with Franco at the same time.

There is a sharp contrast between the *mandos*'s awareness of their own role abroad, and the lack of a political agenda on the part of Coros y Danzas singers and dancers. For many girls, leaving Spain for their tours entailed becoming acquainted with the problems the country faced as a result of dictatorial oppression. Some of them even acknowledged for the first time in those trips what it meant to live under a dictatorship. In a personal interview conducted by Carolina Hernández Abad with Mª del Carmen Vázquez, a former Coros y Danzas dancer from A Coruña, the latter stated:

> Realmente descubrimos muchas cosas al salir fuera, pero… aquí pensábamos que todo estaba de maravilla, ¿eh? En los años 62, 63, 64 y 65 vamos, y nosotros estábamos encantados de andar por el mundo adelante: ¿Qué representábamos a un régimen? Probablemente, pero no teníamos conciencia de ello tampoco ¿eh? Íbamos un poco como misión diplomática, fíjate tú. Íbamos encantados, pero no… no éramos conscientes. Las críticas a Franco las vimos por primera vez en el extranjero. (qtd. in Hernández Abad 117)

SF officials never showed a true interest in their own singers, dancers, and musicians either. Didi-Huberman points out that when "the people" denotes a social body as the foundation of the nation, then, they are conceived as the Greek *demos.* Yet when the people means a multiplicity of the underworld it turns into a field of "inextinguishable conflict," they ceased to be *demos* to become *plebs, vulgus, turba,* terms used by Didi-Huberman (106). In this circumstance, although for Sección Femenina the people could create an *ethos* for cultural appropriation, as it happened with the rural people and their vernacular culture, every time its high ranks had to deal with the

contradictions of flesh-and-blood people, even if they were its own singers and dances, they treated them as *plebs.* This double standard that the *mandos* of Sección Femenina used to deal with the people and their own comrades is another example of their disdain for everything that was not part of their closed elitist circle. SF high ranks had no qualms in addressing their comrades with cruelty, as shown in correspondence between Josefina Weglison— expedition chief for Coros y Danzas's trips to the Balkans and the Middle East in 1950—and Pilar Primo de Rivera. Weglison evidenced a lack of caring in how she handled illness when a girl from the Badajoz troupe got sick: "Lo malo es que es de Badajoz que ya andaba mermado de buenas y ésta lo era" (2). Through their fascist lens, serving Falange and, in turn, Francoist Spain should have been above everything else, and suffering pleurisy was not cause to deprive the world from seeing a righteous performance of Montehermoso's dancers with their colorful caps.

The rules established by the Departamento de Música for contests make clear that once under the domains of Sección Femenina, the girls of Coros y Danzas had to plead for acknowledgement to the hierarchy of the organization. These comrades ceased to have autonomy and even their family ties were censored so they would completely surrender to the Falangist/Francoist project. In a memo, the *mandos* complained precisely about having to deal with the emotional and worldly needs of singers and dancers as these could compromise the mission of the Falange:

> [H]icieron esperar a los autobuses y lo que es aún peor se llevaron consigo al Teatro a los amigos, parientes, novios y camaradas de su provincia y claro ésto es horroroso porque escenarios de capacidad para unas 80 personas como máximo y en que introducimos más de mil camaradas daros cuenta lo que [ocurriría] si autorizamos a entrar a todos esos parientes, amigos, etc… que se enteren bien que no entrará nadie que no tenga una

> localidad y que las localidades se dan no para que sus amistades las vean bailar sino para que la gente que no conoce lo que realizamos vaya conociendo a la Falange. ("Circular: Departamento de música" 4)

This note proves how unconcerned the *mandos* were about their own subordinates. They showed a merely instrumental interest in their rank and file comrades. Dancers and singers did not matter the least, neither their emotions nor their engagements, despite putting their bodies at the service of Falange and Franco dictatorship, and having to act for strangers rather than for those dearest to them.

1.3 Affective Memory through *Ronda Española*

In *Crónica sentimental de España* (1971), Manuel Vázquez Montalbán analyzes, on a sentimental note, easy-listening music on the sidelines that ended up being central in the hearts of the Spanish consumer public. For many, the lyrics of this music genre became a way to preserve their everyday lives, thanks to their condensed meaning and their capacity for reproducing an image of their own lived reality:

> [S]e sabía que era mentira y que la dualidad verdad-mentira debía asumirse para sobrevivir. Las canciones no mienten. Los letristas son los más afortunados fotógrafos de la sentimentalidad. Saben que una buena canción-fotografía precisa reducir al máximo el número de las palabras, precisar al máximo su significado. A veces un simple letrista y musicador al servicio de una de aquellas orquestas que recorrían los veranos de la España eternamente devastada y reconstruida, acertaban, mágicamente, como si su mano hubiera sido movida por la magia de una sabiduría intangible. (36-37)

Despite the process of cultural appropriation that vernacular music underwent, the other side of the coin shows that dissemination and reception of easy-listening music constituted one of the most powerful mechanisms for overcoming trauma throughout the dictatorship. In particular, scholar Stephanie Sieburth has studied how Franco's victims sang along to *coplas* by the famous artist Concha Piquer as they listened to them on the radio, as a way of transforming their own feelings. The polysemous compositions' multiple readings helped them create an analogy between the songs' protagonists and their own lives: "en cada una de las coplas [de Concha Piquer] … existe una analogía entre la situación y los sentimientos de la protagonista y los de los vencidos, la cual les permitía trabajar y transformar sus propios sentimientos de dolor mientras cantaban" (24).

In the same vein, Sección Femenina tried to codify the relationship between music and society in affective ways. They assumed that by controlling emotions, they could also manipulate the social relationships that emerged from them. The film *Ronda Española* (1952) is an exercise in the cultural politics of emotion that Sección Femenina performed throughout their active period. So far, I have shown how Coros y Danzas established themselves as folklorists by authenticating and authorizing folklore through unconventional means and how they institutionalized the practice and performance of folk music and dancing by aestheticizing everyday practices and transforming them into mere ornament. In this section, I will explore how Coros y Danzas tried to become a trigger of affective memories that facilitated the Francoist propaganda machine's rhetorical turn from discursively framing the Spanish Civil War as a crusade against the *rojos,* to conceptualizing it as a fratricidal war. Sara Ahmed's ideas about cultural politics of emotions suggest that emotions have been erased from objects through an erasure of the history how they have been produced and how they circulate.

> Drawing on Marx, I argue that emotions accumulate over time, as a form of affective value. Objects only seem to have such value, by an erasure of these histories, as histories of production and labour. But whilst Marx suggests that emotions are erased by the value of things (the suffering of the worker's body is not visible in commodity form), I focus on how emotions are produced. It is not so much emotions that are erased, as if they were already there, but the processes of production or the 'making' of emotions. In other words, 'feelings' become 'fetishes,' qualities that seem to reside in objects, only through an erasure of the history of their production and circulation. (11)

Here, I propose to think of these performances as an array of feelings turned into fetishes. The bond between the whole process of production and circulation of those feelings and material conditions in rural communities was erased from Coros y Danzas's performances, so that only a reified version of the emotions remained, be these joy, sadness, or nostalgia.

As described by Luis Suárez, in 1949, when W. de Basili, at the time responsible for the Ballet Russe, saw Coros y Danzas in France, he had the idea of making a romantic film in order to raise interest in Spanish folklore and said so to Lula de Lara, SF chief of Propaganda (227). On November 30, 1951, she signed a contract with José Luis de Navasquiés, General Director of Estudios "Chamartín," to make the film *Ronda Española*.[32] Lula de Lara took the leading role during the whole negotiation process ("Contrato de Sección Femenina" 1), although Maruja Sampelayo was in charge of the Regiduría that ruled Coros y Danzas, the alleged stars of the film. In an interview, Sampelayo reduced her own involvement to simply naming some groups

[32] Coros y Danzas also had the opportunity to participate as extras in a Goldwyn Mayer Metro production. The film *It Started with a Kiss* (1959), directed by George Marshall and starred in by Glenn Ford, Debbie Reynolds, Eva Gabor and Gustavo Rojo, had a wedding scene in which Coros y Danzas participated as a guest group. The staging took place in Granada (Sacristán), where they performed "Fandango de Huescar" and "Fandango de Almuñecar", specially arranged for MGM. The organization earned 8,000 pesetas for their show (Sampelayo, Letter to Sacristán). Sección Femenina signed contracts with Walt Disney Productions as well.

that she assumed "indispensable" to be in the film.[33] The networks of power that orchestrated the making of *Ronda Española* were directly related to the propaganda sections of Sección Femenina, relegating the Regiduría Central de Cultura to the background. This circumstance gives us an idea of the propaganda dimensions of the project, in contrast to its vocation to spread folklore.

An examination of the legal contract between Sección Femenina and the production studio found in the Real Academia de la Historia shows that the shooting was to start at some point between November and December 1951 and was scheduled to last until February of the following year. Both institutions agreed to the script, written by Rafael García Serrano and José María Sánchez Silva, as well as to the choice of the professional artists. The troupes' willingness to participate in the film was total, although as per item four of the contract, they were not going to receive a stipend for dancing and singing in the movie as extras. This did not prevent Sección Femenina from receiving a 15% share of the net profit obtained from the film. In addition, Coros y Danzas agreed to avoid participating in any other short or long film until 1956.

As a companion to the film, there is a travelogue by Rafael García Serrano—one of the scriptwriters—titled *Bailando hasta la Cruz del Sur* (1953) that narrates Coros y Danzas's trips to America in 1948 and 1949. It is a kind of ship logbook wherein some of the events described in the film are developed in greater detail. García Serrano additionally includes anecdotes and events that happened in those trips to America using the real names of the people involved, which gives the book a documentary value that the film lacks. Its fascist ideology is also more marked; as an example, the author compiles and celebrates a series of episodes about Falange's activities prior to the coup d'état, such as when some of its members decided to beat up the seller

[33] She also pointed to Mercedes Otero, known as Paris, as the other important agent when managing the film ("Cuestionario de una entrevista" 1). Later on, Paris focused her activity on the film industry.

of the newspaper *Mundo Obrero*, for the sake of using violence against communist sympathizers (79).

Image 5. Ronda Española movie billboard. Reproduced with permission from Mercury Films.

The film was directed by Ladislao Vajda (1906-1965), who had arrived in Spain in 1942 after starting his cinematographic career in Great Britain, Hungary, France, and Italy. He produced films of a so-called Spanish taste as he had tight connections with the Franco regime (Amador Carretero 108). It did not take much time for Francoist media to praise the film.

On January 18, 1952,[34] conservative newspaper *La Gaceta del Norte* published a chronicle by J. M. Alzaga titled "'Ronda Española' Pelicula Bellísima," which extols the wonders of the movie and introduces Coros y Danzas as a "villancico," a point of union, calm and easy in the mundane bustle of everyday life. Alzaga neutralizes the ideological and propagandistic nature of the film by negating political diversity: "Es imposible substraerse a la

[34] This date suggests that the film was finished earlier than expected according to the contract.

fuerte emoción de la música y de las danzas regionales, que tienen siempre un mensaje para todos los que viven con el alma limpia de ideologías turbias y aún para aquellos que saben soñar con los bienes perdidos, aunque se perdieron en la vida" (2). The latter is a reference to Spanish exiles, who fled Francoism and who are presented as "lost in life." Yet Alzaga granted them the ability to be moved by Coros y Danzas and, despite their sins, exiles could still dream about their lost treasures. Eric Fromm sees modern propaganda as a cultural strategy that appeals to emotions, rather than to rational needs. Propaganda uses repetition, prestigious models, aesthetics, and terror, and it even stimulates fantasies of total change in people's lives (197-199). Fromm points out that as a result, some emotions—as well as will, desires, and thoughts—have been imposed on us from outside and so are strange to us, even though we experience them as if they were our own: "podemos tener pensamientos, sentimientos, deseos y hasta sensaciones que, si bien los experimentamos subjetivamente como nuestros, nos han sido impuestos desde fuera, nos son fundamentalmente extraños y no corresponden a lo que en verdad pensamos, deseamos o sentimos" (275). He states that individuals repress genuine emotions and normalize those "pseudoemotions" at their disposal through the cinema and other media (276). Similarly, according to Monique Scheer, mobilization through media is one of the emotional practices that results from power dynamics: "Listening to music, visiting a museum, attending a theater performance, watching a film or TV show, playing a video game, or reading a novel, for example, can modulate our feelings to a greater or lesser degree" (210).[35]

As I will show, both the book and the film work as emotional propaganda and emotional practice in the senses that Fromm and Scheer envision. Through the film, Coros y Danzas could

[35] According to Monique Scheer, affects are "emotional practices," as both mind and body participate in their actions, and they are shaped by our everyday actions (220). She notes "[f]our kinds of emotional practices that make use of the capacities of a body trained by specific social settings and power relations are sketched out —mobilizing, naming, communicating, and regulating emotion" (193).

provoke nostalgic feelings in Spanish exiles and thus transform them into better Spaniards. Moreover, the emotional practices displayed by the film were both intra- and extradiegetic. By portraying exiled characters, the film constructed a series of "pseudoemotional" or fetishized responses to Coros y Danzas performances that were also available for the Spanish audience watching in theaters. Thus, Sección Femenina deployed its own affective strategies instrumentally in a historical context in which Spanish society needed to identify with the positive imaginaries that media put at their disposal, as Vázquez Montalbán theorized regarding music. *Ronda Española*'s folklore could allow viewers to dream of a *locus amoenus* that did not exist and perhaps had never existed.

The liaison between the audience and the fictional exiles underscored the central trope of the film: the conciliatory benefit of Coros y Danzas. The idea was outlined through two premises: on the one hand, the assumption that Franco had pardoned the defeated in the Spanish Civil War—which ignored the reality of the regime; and on the other hand the promise that no one, not even the most "impure soul"—e.g., communists and republicans—could escape Coros y Danzas' charms. Alzaga ends his chronicle appealing to the extreme kindness of the troupes through an allegory of fraternity: "Juan Maragall, el cantor de Navidad, hablando de un concierto en que un niño polaco interpretó Beethoven, dijo: 'Y cada hombre, al salir miró en derredor y vió sólo hermanos'" (2). This film seems to be an early example of the type of propaganda Carlos Robles Piquer, director-general of the popular culture and entertainment, orchestrated around the so-called 25th years of peace campaign, launched on April 1, 1964 by Manuel Fraga Iribarne's Ministry of Information and Tourism.[36] Robles Piquer's campaign put an end to the discourse of the Spanish Crusade against the infidel and instead inaugurated the fratricidal conflict rhetoric

[36] See Castro Díez and Díaz Sánchez for an analysis on the campaign as a "gran *performance* estatal" (12).

that conveyed the Spanish Civil War as an inevitable fight between brothers. This rhetoric deliberately ignored the contingent condition of war and the illegitimate coup that deposed the Second Spanish Republic. In the particular context of Coros y Danzas, Beatriz Busto Miramontes interprets that reconciliation between the Franco regime and exiles is itself represented as a symbolic war. She believes that exiles are denied the capacity to resist to the charms of Coros y Danzas in a scenario of two oppositional factions (*La Galicia proyectada* 312).[37]

The black-and-white film *Ronda Española* (91 min, 35mm) follows traditional cinematic patterns of introduction, conflict, climax, and denouement. Although *Ronda Española* is a movie that deals with the subject of folklore, I do not think it can be considered a folkloric film that tries to show the exotic topos of Spanishness, like those produced during the first years of the Franco regime, analyzed by Jo Labanyi in the article: "Raza, género y denegación en el cine español del primer franquismo." It is a purely propagandistic film that reflects Sección Femenina's political agenda, whereby Coros y Danzas's performances are a mere backdrop. Folk dances and music fill the narrative space forming a long catalysis that propitiates the plot development, i.e., the symbolic and affective fight between Sección Femenina and the exile characters. Folklore and the love story between Ángeles and Pablo, as we shall see, are but an excuse to showcase SF's diplomatic mission abroad.

The setting begins in a gymnasium where a dance group from the province of Donostia-San Sebastián (Euskadi) rehearses a choreography. The teacher, Lola (played by Milagros Leal), reports that Sección Femenina has organized a trip to Latin America. On the trip they will visit

[37] Busto Miramontes's complete quote: "la reconciliación se presenta como una batalla, como una guerra, en la que de nuevo vuelven a darse dos bandos de los cuales el uno, vuelve a vencer (bailando y cantando) y el otro vuelve a perder, y a este segundo se le niega, a través de la crónica, el derecho al rechazo ya que lo que se narra es la rendición del espíritu político ante aquel mensaje patriótico de sonrisas, bailes, cantos y acentos."

Panama, among other countries. One of the troupe members, Vicky (played by Clotilde Poderós and a gesture to Falangist Vicky Eiroa), has a great interest in traveling to Panama, but the dance instructor is not planning to take her and only a stroke of chance can make this happen. Vicky secretly tells a friend her reason for wanting to go to America—which I will reveal later on—and her friend pretends that she has hurt her leg and cannot dance, so Vicky can take her place.

Music and dance troupes from different Spanish provinces gather on the ship *Monte Albertia* under the command of Lola, expedition chief. In the main characters' cabin there are two Galicians, a Catalan, and Vicky, who is Basque—meaningfully, the three Iberian territories that managed to get their Statutes of Autonomy approved during the Second Spanish Republic. Ángeles, the Catalan, will soon emerge as the protagonist of the film. She is the last one to succumb the swings of the ocean, while all others remain in their cabins, seasick. Little by little she wins over the bartender, Morgan (Manolo Morán), who has a devotion for Westerns, and soon the whole ship's crew falls for her charms. She is audacious and generous, she makes jokes, but always looks out for everyone's well-being to the extent that she managed to get close to the "capi"—the ship's captain, played by José Mª Rodero—whom she tries to convince to drop his addiction to alcohol. Ángeles represents the values of the good Falangist: always cheerful and showing charity to others, with hobbies that were deemed masculine at the time—such as the habit of reading or his domain of firecrackers. Often among SF's members a subtle female masculinity would constitute "the healthful alternative to what are considered the histrionics of conventional femininities," to use Jack Halberstam's words (9). At the same time, Ángeles would never try to stand out, always assuming a subaltern role before SF superiors.

The ship finally gets to America and before the first performance takes place Lola makes it clear that it must be nothing but a commemoration of parochial celebrations:

> Nadie piense que está en el escenario de un teatro. Esto es la plaza del pueblo de cada una de vosotras. Tenéis que bailar como lo… haríais allí. Eso se os pide. De este modo, quienes están ahí fuera, se creerán de nuevo en la Patria. Pensad que algunos se alejaron de ella, no solo físicamente, sino de manera más grave y definitiva. Y pensad, que lo que vais a comenzar dentro de un rato es un mensaje. En fin. Bailad con toda el alma… (Sánchez Silva and García Serrano 9-10)

This inaugural harangue by the expedition chief reveals clearly the representation regime that Sección Femenina left open for Coros y Danzas. They were an exportable segment of the rural communities of Spain whose goal was, among others, to mobilize the feelings of their audiences, even exiles who had abandoned the fatherland "grievously and definitively." Instead of as artists, Lola defines them as "messengers," bearers of a reality of sparse availability. The plot evokes the plebeian condition of extras that Coros y Danzas participants already had; their dancers and musicians are denied the status of artists. Instead, the film presents them as exotic people who have left their native villages to show frozen customs (see Image 6).

Image 6. Frame of Ronda Española showing an Asturian performance, 1952. Reproduced with permission from Mercury Films.

In one of the early Coros y Danzas performances in the film, the audience witnesses the potential conciliatory power of reified vernacular songs and dances. The Galician characters Ana (Esperanza Navarro) and Mercedes (Carolina Jiménez), from Santiago de Compostela's troupe, have a fight over Juan (José Isbert), the telegraphist they both like. However, Ana and Mercedes come to terms just before the performance, moved by the virtuous nature of Galician folk music. At that point, a piper with a *monteira* (a typical Galician hat) appears with a choir that sings in Galician, and two rows of women form on stage. In this frame there is no trace of the actresses Esperanza Navarro and Carolina Jiménez, who were supposed to be dancing as Ana and Mercedes, respectively. Their absence is meant to be unnoticed by the audience due to the use of wide shots. In Didi-Huberman's words, close-up shots entail a stronger engagement of the gaze with what is being looked at: "miro de tan cerca que me implico por completo—me entrego de

cuerpo y alma—en lo que miro" (184). The camera frames that Vajda chose for the scenes of Coros y Danzas on stage are mainly wide shots of the structures formed by the troupes. This is because those scenes are performed by extras, and those extras are denied what Didi-Huberman calls "sovereignty of the face" as they do not appeared in portraits (56). For him, this denial that took place during the Renaissance comes out in two ways:[38] at first when the people who are portrayed are exclusively figures with political power; and secondly, when the portrait only shows the psychological interiority of the individual being. "El retrato humanista negaría pues al pueblo la soberanía de la cara, una primera vez al regirse exclusivamente por las figuras del poder político —las bien llamadas 'personalidades'—, y una segunda al atenerse solo a la interioridad psicológica del ser individual" (56). The deprivation of the sovereignty of the face in this scene is evident since only professional actresses have the right to close-up shots. By contrast, the true dancers, who put their legs and arms to serve the Francoist cause on the stage, are only an accessory for the subplot in which Ana and Mercedes are immersed.

This distinction between actresses and extras is also evident in the images showed in NO-DO of the glamorous premiere of the film, in which a smiling Elena Salvador (Ángeles) and an elegant José Suárez (Pablo)—whom I will introduce later—are filmed by the Francoist media (*Estreno de Ronda Española*). Nonetheless, in such an exuberant event, there is no outward sign of the over five hundred girls from Coros y Danzas who participated in the film for no monetary compensation. Didi-Huberman claims that extras—people without attributes—are nothing more than human scenery (154). In this particular context, Coros y Danzas are mere extras whose role has been reduced to human scenery and so it was the role that the dictatorship reserved to the

[38] Throughout Chapter 2, Didi-Huberman analyzes the history of the portrait from the Renaissance to nowadays. In particular, he describes the portrait of the Renaissance as a denial of the people, and sees in current popular magazines a reminiscence of the cynical humanist portrait (55-56).

common people of the rural areas. Meanwhile, the film created an aestheticized and glamorized folklore through the inclusion of stars such as Elena Salvador, Esperanza Navarro, or Carolina Jiménez, who pretended to embody vernacular productions and who also appealed emotionally to the audience, performing an idealized image of happiness, as John Berger would suggest.[39]

Coros y Danzas pretended to embody the rural people that they, in fact, erased. For their part, the actor protagonists of the film did the same to Coros y Danzas, whose dancers are almost faceless. This aesthetic artifact seems to become ensnared in a series of displacements that were central to SF's conception of its social and political role, as it happened with Coros y Danzas's actualization of traditional gender roles, such as those of nursemaids, and how they symbolically alleged to resume medieval projects, such as Gregorian chants and Alfonso the Wise's *Cantigas*, in order to legitimate their political position within the regime.

Nonetheless, extras can become *demos* when their contribution as social body is bonded to the origins of the nation by producing songs and poetry, as I discussed above. Further repetitions within the plotline foster not only a mimesis between the dancing troupes and the common people but also a rhetoric of historical continuity with the Spanish conquest. In *Bailando hacia la Cruz del Sur*, García Serrano observes the girls fixing their petticoats and their jerkins as if they were soldiers preparing their armor before sailing to conquer the New World: "a mí me parecía que—con el debido respecto a las distancias y a las empresas—así debi[eron] charlar en la cubierta de antiguos navíos exploradores, descubridores y conquistadores, en vísperas de zarpar, cuando aquellos mozos se repartían ya los sueños del botín, los tesoros de Cipango, las prodigiosas aceitunas de un entremés heroico" (17). This imaginary scene emphasizes the political character of SF's mission. According to Cécile Stephanie Stehrenberger,

[39] John Berger thought that the power of *glamour* rested on its supposed happiness (133).

when merged with the image of soldiers, Coros y Danzas's *troupes* were transformed into "folklore *troops*." She suggests that they were "part of a war machine that was meant to show the colonial population the strength of the Francoist State" (234). Their weapons were not to repress but rather "to impress"; and to move emotionally, I would add. Similarly, Daniel Jordán has found that Andalusian groups of Coros y Danzas were preferred when touring Morocco in the 1950s. In their diplomatic mission to the Maghreb, Coros y Danzas put into practice Rodolfo Gil Benumeya's idea that Spain, North Africa, and the Middle East shared an "emotional aesthetic," ultimately contributing to stabilizing the Spanish Protectorate in that region (556-557). Thus, the war was recast as a symbolic conflict where SF troupes' fetishized emotions won over the enemy in the diplomatic terrain.

The analogy between the beginning of the genocide of American indigenous people in 1492 and Coros y Danzas's cultural diplomacy in Latin America is also present in the lyrics of an Extremaduran song that appears in the film. In one of the performances portrayed, the troupe from Badajoz sings its praises to Our Lady of Guadalupe for protecting conquerors, while at the same time evoking its own actions on stage. The two things are connected by the musical relationship between stanza and a refrain. In the stanza, there is a reference to Our Lady of Guadalupe and her role in guiding the conquerors, while the refrain directly describes the activities performed by Coros y Danzas, i.e., "saltar, cantar, bailar, animar…" In this way, the spiritual link between the troupe's joyfulness and the bravery of Early Modern Iberian conquerors is sealed as they become two sides of an *intra-historical* social body representing the *ethos* of the Spanish people and its everlasting colonial endeavors:

La Virgen de Guadalupe

que Extremadura venera

fué de los Conquistadores, ¡Ay!

Capitana y Misionera.

Como brillan en la noche

en el cielo las estrellas

brillan tus ojos divinos en tu carita morena.

A saltar,

a cantar,

a bailar,

a animar,

la función,

y alegrar

la población (BIS). (Sánchez Silva and García Serrano 12)

Likewise, calling the Virgin Missionary and Captain of the Conquerors feminizes the Conquest finding again space for women—although subordinated to the conquerors' actions—in a field traditionally attributed to men.

Upon arriving in Panama, the film shows a group of exiled Republicans discussing Coros y Danzas and ridiculing their artistic abilities in light of their coming performances in the country. One of them, Giulio (Roberto Zara) warns the others that Sección Femenina is dangerous since its success rests upon "sentimentality" (15). They are at the home of Pablo, a Basque exile who happens to be Vicky's brother and the reason why she wanted to travel there. The group of Spanish Republicans decides to attend a performance, where Pablo recognizes his

sister dancing, and both meet later at his house. Vicky implores her brother to return to Spain, but all she gets is the promise that he will attend the troupes' last event in Panama.

The group of exiles is planning an attack on the spectacle, but at no time does the spectator come to know what the attack consists on. Only the ringleader of the Republicans, who is not Spanish (Barta Barri), knows all the details of the operation. The fact that the ringleader is not Spanish suggests that his will and temper cannot be tamed by Coros y Danzas emotional appeal. Actually, he is the only one who does not succumb to the fondness of reified songs and dances performed by the *troops*, unlike the exiles who in turn appeared in the film as disenchanted of their political visions after they attended the spectacles.

When they attempt to boycott Coros y Danzas's last performance in the city by booing the girls, they simply cannot. The film superimposes onto scenes of the young girls dancing and singing other images that evoke memories of the most emblematic, stereotypical, and touristic places and events in these provinces, such as bullfights in Navarra. The movie shows the sweetened version of vernacular performances embodied by Coros y Danzas mobilizing in exiles, as audience-performers, feelings similar to those they experienced at the festivities in their hometowns, although the generative process of these emotions has been lost. Through close-up shots of their tearful faces and jovial exclamations of "ole!," exiles appear extremely moved by an affective memory that songs and dances triggered, as they recognize elements of the performances linked to their own imaginaries about the different Spanish territories. The actual exiles watching the film are supposed to echo the fictional exiles within the screen in order to deactivate their political actions against the troupe. In *Ronda Española*, the stories of exiles operate in a *mise-en-abyme,* i.e., the film's audience is inserted within the movie's plot through the exiles performing as Coros y Danza's crowd.

This story, in fact, contrasts sharply with what happened in reality since, as shown in a letter sent by Maruja Sampelayo dated April 1951 from their tour in Brussels, Republicans and other antifascist groups boycotted performances many times, precluding the public from listening to the songs: "Empezó el espectáculo y el griterío fué monstruoso con toda clase de exclamaciones.… Pero la actuación de aquel día fué mejor que ninguna, parecia un combate, cuanto más gritaban, mejor bailaban, con un coraje como nunca lo vi. Lo que no podían decir con palabras lo expresaban bailando" (1). The quote attests the symbolic war that took place between exiles and the girls of Coros y Danzas who fought with their bodies to win over the exiles trying to impose onto them a second defeat. But the truth is that for the first expedition of Coros y Danzas to America exiles managed to prevent them from traveling to Uruguay, where Sección Femenina feared that they would not be welcome.[40] Proofs of distaste for Coros y Danzas manifested at other instances throughout the Francoist era. Thus, in the 1960s, when orchestrating the campaign of the 25th years of peace, actor Manuel Collado bore in mind that Spanish migrants in Germany were disappointed with Coros y Danzas's spectacle promoted by Fraga's cabinet, "which did not correspond to their self-ascribed identity" (qtd. in Sanz Diaz and Morales Tamaral, "Selling a Dictatorship" 220).

In the end, Pablo does not attend the Coros y Danza's performance in Panama. He watches Coros y Danzas on TV from his home and in the company of the Republicans' leader, who insinuates that he will use a bomb to "scare" the girls. Racked with guilt, Pablo locks himself in the room with the ringleader to prevent the attack from happening. As soon as the show ends, Vicky, who has not seen her brother in the audience as he promised, decides to look

[40] García Serrano narrates how the manager that organized the trip to Latin America tried to avoid Uruguay after threats and past experience with the theater company Jardiel Poncela, whose actress had been attacked with vitriol by people in the audience, he claimed (168).

for him at his house and Ángeles and Morgan, the Westerns fan, accompany her. Morgan waits outside, while Vicky and Ángeles try to figure out why Pablo did not come. They find him surrounded by gangs under the command of his former colleague leader. Seeing that neither Vicky nor Ángeles return, Morgan comes to their aid to find a tense situation, so he pulls out his fake Western pistol to scare the gangs members. All of them think that it is a real weapon, and free Ángeles, Vicky, and Pablo, who escape with Morgan in a car to board the ship. Since Pablo is at risk in Panama, they hide him as a stowaway and take care of him during the return trip to Spain.

In a moment of intimacy between Pablo and Ángeles, she asks why he escaped from Spain. Pablo tells her that he fought alongside the Republicans and that he does not want to return to his country defeated, as a loser. Ángeles wonders if he is afraid of going to jail, something that Pablo denies:

Ángeles:	¿Te pasaría algo al llegar a España?
Pablo Urtubia:	¿Qué dices?
Ángeles:	Si… esperas ser detenido…
Pablo:	¿Yo?… ¡Yo he sido un simple soldado!
Ángeles:	¿Entonces, Pablo?
Pablo:	No quiero ser un vencido.
Ángeles:	En España no hay vencidos.
Pablo:	En fin, Ángeles. Eres la mejor persona que he conocido.
Ángeles:	¿Por qué dices eso?
Pablo:	No sé… tienes algo. Un algo que no sé qué es… que me gusta… que me gustaría conocer…

Ángeles: Pablo, Pablo…. Mucho has cambiado en poco tiempo…

Pablo: El tiempo es solamente una medida de la voluntad, y mi voluntad está contigo…

Ángeles: Yo sola no soy nadie/nada,[41] Pablo.

(Sánchez Silva and García Serrano 30)

The dialogue between Ángeles and Pablo not only leaves open the possibility that he can return to Spain without any problem but also bolsters the idea that Coros y Danzas constituted an ontological framework for many of the girls. When Ángeles says "sola no soy nadie," or "nada," she hints at being just a piece within Sección Femenina's machinery. Her personality, which is surrounded by an auratic charisma—a *je ne sais quoi* ("no sé qué")—that Pablo admires, is strictly a result of her membership in the folklore *troupe* that is almost a folklore *troop*. Despite the higher individualization of Ángeles's character through close-up shoots and incursions of the plot into her psychology, ultimately, like a faceless extra she has become part of a mass ornament.

According to Siegfried Kracauer in his study of the mass ornament, which could be exemplified in the movements and structure choreography of the Tiller Girls, they ended up forming a closed structure whose organic components did not have meaning of their own, but only as part of the geometric forms that the Tiller Girls created: "life components have been drained of their substance." Therefore, the ornament was an end in itself (146).[42] Like the dancers in Kracauer's thesis, Ángeles states that her identity ("nadie") or even her existence ("nada") depends on her being a member of Coros y Danzas. Paradoxically, she has to be part of

[41] There seems to be a change from the script to the movie: in the former she says "nadie" (nobody), while in the movie she states "nada" (nothing).

[42] The Tiller Girls were American dance troupes that Kracauer used to exemplify how the mass ornament worked as a consequence of art turning into a commodity.

an exportable rural community or an extra without a sovereign face in order to be someone, she has no meaning beyond the structures of which she is part. The fact that Ángeles is Catalan and yet she feels ontologically bound to the Falangist project represents another victory of Sección Femenina over the potential dissidents in the country. If a Catalan woman could feel part of the patriotic endeavor of the Falange, anyone could. The overall composition that prevails is that the portrait's subject (Ángeles) is no less ornamental than the extras in the film. Women are to be exceptional to become political agents, and yet they are only small pieces in the big engine of the Franco regime.

Furthermore, Ángeles maintains that there is no real danger if Pablo returns to Spain and that the only thing that keeps exiles out of the country is their awareness of being losers, that is, their pride. Therefore, she warns Pablo that if he wants to recover a dignified identity, he must become a part of the Francoist mass ornament too. Ángeles sets aside the harsh reality of returned exiles since many faced innumerable troubles in coming back to Spain even after the promulgation of the Decree of October 1945 that supposedly granted amnesty to those sentenced for military rebellion against the fascist coup d'état of 1936. However, the fascist regime continued executing political prisoners until the very end of the dictatorship.[43] Yet this scene seems to be inspired by events that Coros y Danzas experienced abroad. For instance, in another letter written in Ghent and Bruges (Belgium) in 1951, Maruja Sampelayo reproduces a conversation between one of the girls and an exile: "'Como en España nada,' dijeron, hubo quien le dijo a una chica, 'yo lo único que me pasa es que mientras no se vaya Franco, no vuelvo,'

[43] In the Decree's preamble it stated that: "el Gobierno quiere adoptar, con un amplio criterio de generosidad y justicia, una medida que permita reintegrarse a la convivencia con el resto de los españoles a quienes delinquieron inducidos por el error, las propagandas criminales y el imperio de gravísimas y excepcionales circunstancias." However, the law also excluded from amnesty those who partook in "actos de crueldad, muertes, violaciones, profanaciones, latrocinios u otros hechos que por su índole repugnen a todo hombre honrado" (2430).

‘pero ¿usted le conoce?,’ ‘no,’ ‘pues, entonces vaya y cuando le conozca háblele [sic], tal vez entonces no quiera salir más,’ terminó casi por darle la razón a la chica.” The *naïveté* of the letter, which attempts to lead its reader to believe that exiles could access Franco upon their possible return to Spain, as well as Ángeles’s assumption that exile was a matter of cowardice or pride, reinforce the idea that Sección Femenina used affectivity to impose its own political agenda in favor of Falange and the Franco regime.

The romance between Pablo and Ángeles on the screen is interrupted by a telegram that informs of a stowaway on the ship. Therefore, the captain orders that he be forced out from the ship and delivered to the authorities as soon as they arrive in Curação. Ángeles intercedes to avoid Pablo’s detention, but he goes ahead and escapes clandestinely through the ship’s laundry chute. When Ángeles discovers that he has disappeared, she goes in search of him and finds him in a tavern. She asks Pablo to return to the ship but he refuses, insisting that he does not want to go back as a “loser.” Back on the ship, everyone is anxious to know what is happening. Vicky is especially sad, so the expedition chief, Lola, decides that, in order to cheer her up, Vicky should be the one to raise the Spanish flag—a routine act in the demonstrations of love for the Fatherland mandatory for the members of Coros y Danzas. In that precise moment, Pablo appears and Ángeles and Vicky come to hug him. Pablo’s presence on the ship symbolically coincides with the moment the flag is raised as a signed of reconciliation under the Spanish unity. Through Coros y Danzas the feeling of Spanishness has imposed itself on ideologies, which are presented as personal mistakes that should be corrected. Thus, Pablo’s surrender to Coros y Danzas’s charms may be read as another victory of Falangism and Francoism over exiles. The conciliatory power of their performances springs from their ability to embody a

version of alterity that is aestheticized and ornamental yet emotionally recognizable in the eyes of their political enemies and the Spanish audience, both thirsty for dreamful imaginaries.

The film *Ronda Española* ideally depicts Coros y Danzas' diplomatic mission to Latin America. The movie proposes that the conciliatory power of Coros y Danzas and their affective potential was such that it could even trigger positive emotions and an affective memory in Spanish exiles, who fled the Franco regime. By equating the music, dances, and costumes that they reenacted in their performance to the popular Spanish imaginary, the movie suggests that Sección Femenina managed to establish control over the affective memory that gestures, colors, and sounds generated in its audience. In this way, SF saw itself as capable of transmitting positive affectivity with Franco's Spain before the most difficult audiences, even though this idea contrasted in reality with the resistance exiles exercised when attending their performances. This affectivity available to exiles in the film also has an extradiegetic function, as the audiovisual artifact institutionalized affective codes that consisted of showing positive emotional responses every time Coros y Danzas performed through repetition, as well as appealing to the audience by a star system that conferred glamour to SF folklore project. In fact, they tried to use their folk repertoire as a decoy for those disaffected by the Franco regime.

To conclude this chapter, through Coros y Danzas, Sección Femenina created a new epistemological framework to understand authenticity and authority that challenged the role of folklorist as constructed by male intellectuals in Western cultures. The authenticity of their music, dance, and clothing did not emanate from shortening the distance between their folklore spectacles and what their informants performed. Rather, authenticity laid in their own ability to render an idea of tradition consistent with their discourse about Spanish culture, based on notions of territorial identity, psychology, and character. Ultimately, authenticity depended on the

credibility that Pilar Primo de Rivera and Maruja Sampelayo gave to Coros y Danzas' repertoire. To be authentic, then, a song, a dance, or a costume had to be sanctioned by authority, it had to be authorized. In this sense, SF legitimized its interventionist authority in two ways. On the one hand, they actualized the role of nursemaids who had traditionally transmitted vernacular songs and poetry cultivated among the agricultural proletariat to the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy and raised it to the public sphere. Sección Femenina created formal spaces for this transmission to take place through the Cátedras Ambulantes and Coros y Danzas themselves. On the other hand, it invoked the methodological ethnography applied to songbooks (*cancioneros*) of the Middle Ages to legitimize its own techniques of selection and "purification" of vernacular productions.

The other side of the coin of SF's project to institutionalize folklore dealt with dissemination of their compiled repertoire. Sección Femenina saw itself as a totalizing folklore agent since it completed the recontextualization process with Coros y Danzas's performances. Sección Femenina used its repertoire to carry out diplomatic missions with the troupe as their protagonist. In performance trips abroad and even propaganda films, Coros y Danzas presented themselves as the living reproduction of local communities, yet erased the material conditions of the subalterns from whom they appropriated music, dances, and costumes. I propose that since Coros y Danzas introduced themselves as an exportable part of the people, they left a representational void to be filled out by their ideological and political loyalties either to Franco or to Falange. Therefore, by embodying forms of fascist syncretic folklore, they bonded them to an unresolved political identity, always subject to the gender burdens that Francoism imposed on women, limiting their autonomy. In the midst of this ontological dispute, Coros y Danzas used their role as folklorists to enforce SF's political agenda. Sección Femenina stands as a total

folklore agent using a gendered perspective to justify its position and employing its diplomatic enterprise to generate political-affective ties that served them to endure in power beyond the end of the dictatorship.

Chapter 2: Verde Gaio: Queering Folk Dances for the Elite

"Though it [musicality] is not proscribed
in the same way as homosexuality,
music has often been considered a dangerous substance,
an agent of moral ambiguity always in danger
of bestowing deviant status upon its practitioners"

Philip Brett, "Musicality, Essentialism, and the Closet," 1994.

In this chapter, I study the Grupo de Bailado Portugues Verde Gaio, a ballet company created under the auspices of Estado Novo's propaganda agency, Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional (National Propaganda Secretariat), SPN, which later would become Secretariado Nacional da Informação, Cultura Popular e Turismo (National Secretariat for Information, Popular Culture and Tourism), SNI.[1] Verde Gaio lingered on the Estado Novo under the leadership of different choreographers, who in turn pertained to diverse dance traditions, and it only disappeared in 1983, after the Decree Law 147/83, of December 27 (Laginha, *História do Bailado* 91). Here I argue that Verde Gaio was a project that tried to borrow the language of Portuguese and international modernity to become a cosmopolitan tool of national distinction. The troupe's creator, António Ferro (1895-1956), had made himself acquainted with some of the most important figures of international modernism, and that experience unleashed his desire to create a national troupe that could represent the Estado Novo domestically and abroad.

This chapter revolves around Ferro's choice of Francis Graça (1902-1980) as Verde Gaio's principal and choreographer, and the latter's trajectory directing the troupe. António Ferro might have put his eyes on Francis Graça—commonly referred to as Francis—not only because

[1] From 1933 to 1945 it was the SPN –Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional (National Propaganda Secretariat), and from 1945 to 1968 it changed its name to SNI –Secretariado Nacional da Informação, Cultura Popular e Turismo (National Secretariat for Information, Popular Culture and Tourism).

of the dancer's own renewing thrusts in the revue theater but also because of Francis's taste for queer modernity inherited from the groundbreaking Ballets Russes, an artistic model for Portuguese modernists. Nevertheless, despite this connection, the absence of a ballet tradition in Portugal rendered Verde Gaio's founders orphans right from the beginning. Thus, Ferro and Francis decided to rely on folklore dances to avoid creating everything from scratch. Eventually, Verde Gaio became an eclectic ballet company with a modernist air provided by Francis's queer aesthetics, while also toying with the idea of rehabilitating national folklore, always for the elite. In this way, folklore became mere ornament in the troupe's aesthetics, which emptied popular dance of any explicit sexual reference deemed vulgar, and sublimated this through more sophisticated expressions of sexual ambiguity that could be permitted under the rigid censorship and political repression suffered by sexual deviants during the Portuguese fascist dictatorship. The importance of Francis Graça in Verde Gaio's history has determined this chapter's focus on the first period of the ballet company which lasted until his second and final departure in 1957 when Margarida de Abreu became the company's choreographer and ballet master.

Modernism in Portugal emerged with the *Orpheu* generation that shook *Saudosismo*'s foundations and its decadent project, with Teixeira de Pascoaes as its grand marshal. In the first section of this chapter, I explore the connections between the *Orpheu* group, Portuguese Futurism, and Verde Gaio through the notion of queer modernity and against the backdrop of the blooming of cosmopolitan projects that ambitioned to overcome the past. In this context of the body's exaltation, the Ballets Russes became an international icon of aesthetic innovation by challenging the boundaries of art. In this regard, Peter Stoneley found that the Ballets Russes promoted a homoerotic art that led "the imagination into realms of pleasurable possibility" without necessarily confronting discrimination against sexual dissidents individually or

collectively (90). Pulling these strings of Portuguese modernism and queer cosmopolitism, I foster the assumption that Francis Graça drew inspiration from the Ballets Russes' aristocratic hedonism to formulate a similar movement in the Portuguese case, always under Ferro's command.

While it is true that António Ferro advocated for a national avant-garde without altering the morality of the time, in this section I maintain that the *Orpheu* generation paved the way for Verde Gaio's incursion into modernist aesthetics. In part, this can be explained because both Ferro's ballet troupe and Futurist intellectuals—among which were several members of the *Orpheu* generation, such as Fernando Pessoa himself—had similar international references, namely the aforementioned Sergei Diaghilev's Ballets Russes, Italian Futurists, Oscar Wilde, or Isadora Duncan, among others, as well as a bourgeois audience in mind. Moreover, *Orpheu* intellectuals had created the conditions of possibility to destabilize traditional gender roles. The imposition of rigid censorship during the Estado Novo deterred neither Verde Gaio nor its main choreographer Francis Graça from exhibiting a timid queer aesthetic forged at the revue theater to please a cosmopolitan elite both in Portugal's capital city and abroad. No wonder Antonio Ferro's greatest project during his tenure at SPN/SNI (1933-1949) was dance, Futurists' preferable artistic expression due to the myriad of possibilities movement and bodies unfold.

In the second part of the chapter, I discuss how the material conditions of this project contradicted the elite's aspiration to build both a national ballet company and an avant-gardist movement, and how folklore became a pretext to justify the absence of classical technique. To overcome the Portuguese lack of balletic tradition, foreign dancers and choreographers were promoted at the expense of local groups, such as *ranchos folclóricos*, which often ran headfirst into censorship. After Francis's brief departure from the troupe in 1945, Verde Gaio tried to

become a classic ballet company leaving behind its most nationalistic ballet pieces. However, internal arguments in the SPN/SNI to preserve Verde Gaio's foundational spirit of folklore ballet forced Francis's return. Despite the company's fluctuations due to changes in direction, modernist aesthetics, particularly the ontological inquiry through sexuality, never disappeared from the troupe's horizon. Gender ambiguity and homoeroticism became an acceptable expression of sexual desire when compared to erotic references in vernacular songs and dances. These aesthetic and ethic choices revealed Estado Novo authorities' contempt towards popular classes. The cleavage between SPN/SNI's two artistic projects—namely Verde Gaio for the elite and ranchos for the popular classes—anchored a division of culture according to social classes that pretended to underpin social tastes as well as material differences, something that also occurred in the Rome-Berlin Axis, as I have explored in the Introduction.

The last section of this chapter encompasses a hermeneutical reading of the film *Nazaré* (1962), composed of sketches from the ballet output of the same name, and directed by the regimen's official filmmaker António Lopes Ribeiro. In this short film, ballet, as a form of high art, contributes to romanticizing the poor social conditions and the dangerous life of fishermen and women, to create a picturesque portrait of the Portuguese people suitable for the tourism industry. The film constitutes an iconic representation of Verde Gaio's values as it brings together folklore representation, expressions of homosocial desire, and tourism promotion of the town of Nazaré.

2.1 Queer Aesthetics: The Body as Creator in Portuguese Modernism

Among the fake encomiums written by Portuguese poet and member of the *Orpheu* generation Antonio Botto to mythicize his public persona, a text exposes his relationship to

Russian dancer Vaslav Nijinsky (1889-1950), one of the most renowned members of the Ballets Russes and Diaghilev's lover. Thus, in Botto's imagination, he had strong ties with the ballet dancer, and they had both stayed in the same hotel room in Santa Teresa, Rio de Janeiro. However, in truth, the dancer had spent his honeymoon there in the more upscale Hotel Internacional, accompanied by his bride (Klobucka, "António Botto" 116). Botto's eloquent suggestion of friendship with one of the most famous dancers of the time would exemplify the cross-cutting nature of Portuguese modernism and its ramifications in the art of the *bailado*. Botto was not alone in modernizing the Portuguese letters with an eye on European new art movements and queer aesthetics. Judith Teixeira, Raul Leal, and even Fernando Pessoa have also explored the limits of sexuality through the exaltation of gender bending and homoerotic desire. Thus, the *Orpheu* generation's interest in the Ballets Russes impacted the creation of the Bailados Portugueses Verde Gaio in 1940, as I shall show in the following pages.

Queer dancer and choreographer Francis Graça, trained in the revue, was entrusted with stablishing the first state-owned Portuguese ballet company under the tutelage of editor and journalist António Ferro, who at the time was head of the SPN/SNI. The troupe appeared at a moment of severe censorship, almost three decades after a young generation of intellectuals published the first issue of the modernist magazine *Orpheu* (1915), unleashing a creative explosion in aesthetics. In this section, I argue that the Verde Gaio national ballet project attempted to become a superficial modernist high culture artifact for the Portuguese elite. Hence, Verde Gaio became part of SPN's "Campanha do bom gosto" to create a desirable imagery that could represent the nation: "mistura de modernismo mundano e de nacionalismo desenfreado" (Dos Santos 109). António Ferro did not want to miss the chance to gather some of the most important intellectuals of the period, first presenting Portugal abroad as a breeding ground of

cosmopolitan talent, and then legitimizing a fascist regime through tight collaboration with it (116-117).

At the same time, the influence of Ballets Russes' sojourn in Lisbon—a mirror for Verde Gaio to look at itself, as well as Futurism during the interwar period, led to increased interest in art centered on the body, that is, the concept of an art in which the body is a direct creator without need for the minds' intervention, as Valentine de Saint-Point (1875-1953) suggests in her *Manifesto futurista della lussuria* (1913). The idea of art centered on the body fit perfectly with Estado Novo policies to improve the Portuguese race through physical education that were implemented in public schools. In this context, Francis Graça, principal dancer and main choreographer of the company during most of its active years, embodied the idea of an athletic, disciplined and creative body, resulting in a model of the Lusitanian race.

The *Orpheu* group completely changed the conditions of possibility for art output in several genres and fostered the idea of the body as creative matter.[2] Yet its impact transcended art. Modernists' interest in gender contributed to destabilizing ingrained gender taxonomies. Fernando Pessoa explored gender-bending writing through his heteronym Maria Jose and homoeroticism under the name of Álvaro de Campos; Judith Teixeira sublimated lesbian desire through poetry in "A minha Amante"; Mário de Sá-Carneiro projected homoerotic desires into his well-known novella *A Confissão de Lúcio* (1914); and António Botto's uncloseted lyric

[2] The *Orpheu* generation was named after *Orpheu* magazine. A group of Lisbonnean intellectuals—namely Fernando Pessoa, Mario de Sá-Carneiro (both directors of the magazine), Almada Negreiros, Raul Leal, and Guilherme de Santa Rita, among others—hoped to introduce to the Portuguese audience the new European art movements. The publication aimed at responding to *A Aguia*, a renewed saudosist magazine that the *Orpheu* intellectuals deemed disappointing. In a text signed by Fernando Pessoa, he refused to appoint the *Orpheu* artists as members of any particular art school or movement, not even to modernism, as Pessoa considered the word emptied of meaning. Furthermore, he rejected their being a group altogether, praising the solipsism of its members (cf. M. P. da Silva; Martins).

persona was exhibited in his poems *Canções* (1921, to which he continued to edit until 1932).[3] Ana Luisa Amaral, who has studied Mario de Sá-Carneiro's poetry, proposes that although he did not deconstruct stereotypes, Sá-Carneiro placed his gaze in the field of ambivalence reinforced by modernism (13). All these deviated performances of gender opened up new spaces for aesthetic innovation, even in the field of dance.

Hence, in his article in defense of Botto's homosexuality, "Sodoma Divinizada" (1923), Raul Leal suggestively entertained the idea of lust as a source of aesthetic creation: "É por ser paroxística, ser Vertigem, sagrada enquanto espírito essencial de Deus, que a Luxúria procura o convulsível e não apenas a beleza plástica, querendo pois a beleza da força brutal e dos nervos que a arte despida de sensualidade espasmodicamente espiritualizada não pode atingir" (Leal). Modernist intellectuals sought sexual hedonism as a way to experience not merely beauty but also the convulsive ("o convulsível"). Leal's text borrows language from De Saint-Point's *Manifesto futurista della lussuria*, where she stated that "la Lussuria è la ricerca carnale dell'ignoto, como la Cerebralità ne è la ricerca spirituale. La Lussuria è il gesto di creare, ed è la Creazione. La carne crea come lo spirito crea. La loro creazione di fronte all' Universo è uguale" (1). Futurists understood the body as an active generator of works of art, in the same way as the rational mind.[4] In this vein, Philip Brett argues that musicality and homosexuality shared "a deviant role": "Though it [musicality] is not proscribed in the same way as homosexuality, music has often been considered a dangerous substance, an agent of moral ambiguity always in danger of bestowing deviant status upon its practitioners" (11). Music falls into the realm of the body.

[3] For an insight on queer modernism see, Anna M. Klobucka *O mundo gay de António Botto*; Cláudia Pazos-Alonso "Modernist Differences: Judith Teixeira and Florbela Espanca."

[4] Modernist writer Judith Teixeira borrowed some conceptions from Saint-Point's manifesto proposing a linkage between lust and notions of liberty and liberation in the unpublished essay *Da Saudade* (circa. 1922-1925) (F. M. da Silva 271).

Therefore, modernism aimed at appropriating the body and pushing its boundaries, desire becoming its object of artistic reflection.

The *Orpheu* generation also left an indelible imprint on *varieté* shows, a popular form of leisure of the Lisbonean bourgeoisie. In the 1920s, the Portuguese revue, influenced by *Orpheu*'s aesthetics, changed scenery: structures became lighter, and rhythms increased frequencies and plots to be more agile (Rebello, *História* 77). The revues *Diabo a Quatro* (1915) and *Céo Aberto* (1923) echoed events related to the publishing of the modernist magazine. *Céo Aberto* referred to the scandal provoked by Antonio Botto's book of poems *Canções*, and Raul Leal and Francisco Cabral Metello's response to it (74).[5] Arnaldo Saraiva defines the Teatro de Revista à Portuguesa as

> por um lado. . . . a sua variedade de códigos, géneros, temas e motivos, que sintagmaticamente se articulam de forma frouxa ou arbitrária . . .; é, por outro lado, a sua preocupação (simples) com a actualidade, sobretudo política e social . . ., que se revela nas próprias referências ao passado . . . . e que evidencia um ponto de vista que se quer populista ou popular; e é ainda por outro lado a sua dominante intencionalidade distractiva. . . que a leva a insistir sobre a esfera semântica da sexualidade, assim como a leva a explorar os registos do cómico, do satírico e do humorístico, que aliás a essa esfera vão buscar a principal fonte de inspiração. (44)

The Portuguese revue was conceived as a space of freedom to liberate sexual and social tensions through its demystification. Consequently, sexism was part of the revue's content, as plots often focused on the male-gaze, representing women as mere objects of desire (47-62). By the same token, the fact that some members of the *Orpheu* group—namely Pessoa, Sá-Carneiro, Botto,

[5] I have already referred to Leal's response to homophobic critics against António Botto. Cabral Metello wrote a novella titled *Sáchá: comentários á vida moderna* (1923).

Leal or Teixeira—ventured to sublimate their sexualities—real or imagined—in art forms like addressing same-sex lovers, or gender blending as writers, contributed to destabilizing gender patterns in other forms of aesthetic expression. This was the case with the revue, as I will explore in this section.

Orpheu magazine disappeared before publication of the third issue, as Mário de Sá-Carneiro's father decided to stop financing the project. But its impact was still present for a long time. Some two years later, the magazine *Portugal Futurista*, a sort of replica or Portuguese version of Marinetti's *Italia Futurista*, appeared, again gathering the most prominent male intellectuals of the turn of the century: José de Almada Negreiros, Mario de Sá-Carneiro, Santa Rita Pintor, Álvaro de Campos—heteronym for Fernando Pessoa, and its editor, painter Carlos Filipe Porfirio.

Pessoa's contribution to *Portugal Futurista* was a manifesto titled "Ultimatum." Here, Álvaro de Campos proposed intervention in politics, arts and philosophy, by which he meant abolishing individualism, or the dogma of personal objectivism. He called this revolutionary change "a intervenção cirurgica anti-christã" ("Ultimatum" 33). For him, the poet should be someone capable of expressing multiple aesthetics and emotions at any one time. The soul is not indivisible, as Christian faith suggests, but rather a synthesis of many psyches: "Abolição do dogma da individualidade artistica. O maior artista será o que menos se definir e o que escrever em mais gêneros com mais contradições e dissimilhanças [sic]. Nenhum artista deverá ter só uma personalidade. Deverá ter varias, organizando cada uma por reunião concretizada de estados de alma similhantes [sic], dissipando assim a ficção grosseira de que é uno e indivisível" (34). This statement was embodied in Pessoa's creation of many heteronyms, a way to create a chorus of *dramatis personae*. According to Anna Klobucka and Mark Sabine, he was able to develop

"highly distinct styles" and diverse personalities for each of them (3), including Álvaro de Campos's homoerotic sensibilities and disabled woman Maria José's gender blending. Pessoa's unfolding into a female writer and a Futurist with an emergent homosexual desire might be conceived as part of his aesthetic and political approach to writing that could embrace several ways of feeling and being in the world. Thus, Pessoa's heteronyms evidence his paradigm of the Nietzschean superman ("O Superhomem"): "*O Superhomem Será, Não o Mais Forte, Mas o Mais Completo!. . . . O Superhomem Será, Não o Mais Duro, Mas o Mais Complexo!. . . . O Superhomem Será, Não o Mais Livre, Mas o Mais Harmónico!"* ("Ultimatum"; emphasis in the original). Complete, complex, and harmonic became the champion trident of Pessoa's *Sensacionismo* (a Portuguese avant-garde mode of creation), after stating around 1915 that the rule of art would be "sentir tudo de todas as maneiras. Abolir o dogma da personalidade: cada um de nós deve ser muitos. A arte é aspiração do indivíduo a ser o universo" (*Pessoa Inédito* 141). By incarnating subjects of diverse genders and sexualities Pessoa was capable of exploring multiple ways of being, and plural sentient forms of writing.

The magazine also included an op-ed by poet José Almada Negreiros, musician Ruy Coelho, and architect José Pacheko advocating for expanding modern art to Portugal through the Ballets Russes.[6] They suggested that the Ballets Russes could "educate" the Portuguese in the communication of a plethora of feelings with simplicity:

> Os BAILADOS RUSSOS teem uma comprehensão feliz da Arte moderna. A Arte de hoje não tem hypotheses. A arte de hoje está definida, é uma Sciencia concreta. Tem os seus devêres, os seus devêres de educação. A Arte de hoje é um methodo mathematico para aproveitar ou multiplicar as energias humanas em favor da Civilização Europeia. E

[6] Filomena Serra argues that Almada Negreiros was the true author of the piece, which he read in front of a public in the restaurant *Tavares* in Lisbon (76).

> por isto que os BAILADOS RUSSOS teem uma comprehensão feliz da Arte moderna (2).

Art was, then, a way to achieve the emancipation of the individual and the full development of one's personality. On the lower margin, the article included a note in which the authors threw into relief their own contributions to the art of *bailados*. The first ballet fully created by them—from scenery to music, *A princeza [sic] dos sapatos de Ferro* was performed on April 6, 1915 at the Palacio da Rosa (property of Marquês de Castelo-Melhor), and performed by members of the Portuguese aristocracy. The following year they presented *Lenda d'Ignez* invited by Mme. Mello-Breyner. The list of *bailados* authored by them included *O sonho da Rosa* (Lisboa, 1915-1916), *História da Carochinha* (Lisboa 1916), *Bailado da Feira* and *Joujous* (both under review). All in all, these early twenty-century works created a breeding ground for the Bailados Verde Gaio.

The truth is that *Portugal Futurista* enjoyed a short life and soon suffered police repression as it was banished in November 1917 under Afonso Costa's government. The October 1917 issue was the only one (Serra 75), and the journal never actually went beyond the elitist circles of Portuguese intellectuals, with scarce impact on other spheres of society. Futurism had been imported from Paris into Portugal by two important intellectuals and artists of the time, Mário Sá-Carneiro and Guilherme de Santa-Rita, whom Marinetti entrusted with publishing his articles in Portugal (D'Alge 22). Scholar João Alves das Neves argues that while Santa-Rita flirted with different avant-garde movements (he was a "fumisterie"), Sá-Carneiro never considered himself an avant-gardist (25).

Portugal Futurista's short life marks the end of the artistic current that started on April 14, 1917, with José Almada Negreiros and Santa-Rita's "espectáculo" in the Teatro República. It

was a three-part performance including the reading of the manifesto "Ultimatum Futurista às Gerações Portuguesas do Século XX," followed by the speech "Manifesto Futurista da Luxúria de Mme. De Saint Point," and it concluded with Marinetti's "Music-Hall et Tuons le Clair de Lune." According to a chronicle of the event, Portuguese Futurists did not attract much of an audience, and the media barely covered the show. Again, only a few intellectuals and artists showed some curiosity for this new form of artistic expression, although the movement timidly expanded to other parts of the country such as the Algarve and Coimbra (Miraglia 245-246). Performance was a form of art privileged by Futurism because it allows for experimenting with the movement that they deemed to be the sign of the times, as opposed to the statism characteristic of monuments and ancient architecture. In the *Manifesto del Teatro di Varietà* Marinetti maintained that variety shows created the best atmosphere for improvising, surprising, and provoking the audience: "absolute and unassuming sincerity, speed, dynamism, and instinct" (Bentivoglio, "Danza e Futurismo" 63),[7] while futurist *aerodance* became a way to fuse the human body and the flying machine together (see the Introduction).

Ironically, despite Almada's call to arms against *passatismo* and for modernity, Ballets Russes' performance in Lisbon was considered a fiasco. Diaghilev's company arrived on December 2, 1917, to perform on the 13th, eight years after their debut in Paris. The troupe's arrival coincided with the December 1917 coup d'état led by Sidónio Pais, while Portuguese society went through a violent and unstable period, making the performers' situation tense to begin with. According to Leonide Massine's memoirs, on December 5, they ran into Sidonistas fire, and this landing right in the middle of conflict, coupled with the impact of the Great War, resulted in economic difficulties for the company: "Probably because of all this political

[7] "l'assoluta e scriteriata sincerità, la velocità, il dinamismo e l'instintualità."

upheaval, the Portuguese were in no mood for ballet, and our Lisbon season was a failure. The company was now going through the most depressing period in its history. But in the face of all the financial and other problems which threatened to bring about the company's collapse, Diaghilev struggled to keep up his courage. After the fiasco of our Lisbon visit he was unable to arrange another tour" (Massine 121-122).

When they could finally present their ballet, the Ballets Russes chose their most classic and "Orientalized" pieces (Castro 51-52). Expecting a conservative audience, this repertoire avoided modern and risky dances. Even so, the Ballets Russes only sold half of the tickets (Dos Santos 86). Ballet master Serge Grigoriev also complained that the third night "there was a failure of the city's electricity supply, so that the theatre was plunged into total darkness and we were obliged to stop the show" (qtd. in Castro 94). Even if there had been a will on the part of intellectuals to accommodate the Ballets Russes in Portugal so as to draw inspiration from them and learn about modern art—as Almada Negreiros hoped—the truth is that the material conditions and the political turmoil the country was experiencing through did not allow for much expansion of the troupe's project.

Moreover, in contrast to other places, like Spain, the company did not find the resources to study Portuguese folklore to create pieces inspired by it (Castro 54).[8] In addition to the Ballets Russes, Portugal had also received other important performers of the earlier twentieth century that revolutionized the way of conceptualizing bodies and movements when dancing. In 1902, Loïe Fuller performed in Lisbon accompanied by the Japanese troupe of the Imperial Theater of Tokyo; she returned in 1912 and achieved great success. The Spanish dancer of the so-called

[8]According to Castro, a popular legend suggested that Almada Negreiros unfruitfully prepared a sketch about *Inês de Castro*'s history for Diaghilev to create a ballet. He had also tried to emulate the troupe by creating his own ballet piece, and on April 11, 1918, he presented a performance sponsored by Helena Castelo Melhor (55).

Edad de Plata, Antonia Mercé "La Argentina," visited Portugal on two occasions at the beginning of the twentieth century, and Josephine Baker's visit in 1941, when she danced along with Francis Graça and Ruth Walden, was also remarkable (A. P. Ribeiro 146; P. dos Santos 52).

Less known than Ballets Russes' revolutionary aesthetics was Diaghilev's tendency to create public opinion through scandals linked to his homosexuality and his relationship with the company's dancers, notably Nijinsky and Massine:

> Diaghilev used ballet to revive and extend a queer iconography. He reworked old ideas and images of same-sex desire, and he created new ones. He also drew particular audiences to ballet, and these audiences seemed equally willing to risk confrontation. The Ballets Russes seemed, onstage and as a social entity, to manifest to some spectators a new, queer way of being. (Stoneley 69)

Similarly, for Lynn Garafola, photography of Ballets Russes's male dancers attest to the company's pioneering role in turning the male dancer into "a subject of homosexual erotica" ("The Sexual Iconography" 64). At the same time, it unfolded a queer culture in the Ballet realm for gay men to socialize "relatively free of the constraints of the closet" (65). Thus, part of Ballets Russes' attraction was grounded on the dancer's new approach to their bodies as subjects of sexual desires. For instance, in Nijinsky's performance in *L'Après-midi d'un faune*'s last scene, he provocatively maneuvers in a way that resembles an act of masturbation, which gave room for scandal and gossip about the company.

Bits of Ballets Russes' queer modernity sneaked into the Portuguese revue, just like *Orpheu*'s modern art did. In 1927, the variety show *Água-Pé* included the dance piece *Bonecos Russes*, with Italian-Portuguese operetta-diva Luísa Satanela and Francis Graça as principal dancers (Castro 59), in a clear allusion to the Russian company and their mix of modernity with

tradition. Luiz Francisco Rebello maintains that Diaghilev's Ballets Russes were part of the foreign influences that modified the Portuguese revue, from *mise-en-scène* to music (77). Simon Berjeaut goes further to suggests that it was Francis Graça who imposed the Ballets Russes' aesthetics on Portuguese variety shows by adopting the plastique conceptions of the European avant-garde and consolidating dancing as part of the chorus's performance, a tactic previously introduced by impresario Rosa Mateus in 1923 (180-181). *Sete e Meio*, with choreography by Francis, scenery by painter José Barbosa, and under the direction of filmmaker José Leitão de Barros, confirmed the integration of avant-gardist visual arts into the Portuguese revue: "Les spectacles qui allaient suivre s'engouffraient résolument dans la brèche ouverte par José Barbosa (qui jusqu'en 1950 imagina un total de vingt et une revues) et ses collaborateurs *modern-style*" (182).

Modern technology, such as cinema and photography, defined new ways of looking at art in the revue. Gazing through lenses recast sketches, choreographic positions, and costume styles. According to Paolo Baptista, some of the groundbreaking choreographic moves and poses that appeared during the 1920s had been previously rehearsed at photographer Joaquim da Silva Nogueira's studio (226). Silva Nogueira worked for the Portuguese film company Tobis, and he was responsible for photographing the most prominent revue artists of the period, such as Corina Freire, Maria Paula, Luísa Satanela, and Ruth Walden, the future Verde Gaio's principal female dancer (228). The transformation occurring in the revue during the years of the Republic owns much to dance photography, particularly to the influences of the Parisian magazine *Comoedia Illustré,* "featuring avant-garde ballet scene and costumes" (224). *Água-Pé*'s pictures were probably the first Portuguese images in motion, marking a transition from the rigid Victorian portraiture to new forms of visual aesthetics, including nudity (227-228). All these foreign

inputs—mainly Parisians, contributed to modernizing the revue and hammered notions of movement and dynamism linked to art into the Portuguese audience that would pave the way for Verde Gaio's aesthetic choices.

Along with technological novelties, the interwar period brought new forms of art consumption. Modern leisure centers such as nightclubs and cabarets emerged during the postwar period creating an adequate atmosphere for disseminating American music (Castro 58). The revue also reflected the modern passion for labile forms of expression such as sports and, of course, dance. By 1918, genres such as foxtrot, shimmy, Charleston, and one-step had seeped into variety shows, threatening to oust Portuguese popular music (Rebello 70):

> Os clubes e os cabarés que modificavam a fisionomia nocturna da capital…., o vício do jogo e da cocaína, a moda das saias curtas e dos cabelos à *garçonne,* o cinema, as danças modernas, o novo-riquismo, a especulação e o açambarcamento dos géneros, a poesia modernista e a pintura cubista englobadas na designação genérica de 'futurismo,' a loucura do *foot-ball,* que deu nome à última revista da "Parceria." (69)

On June 21, 1922, António Ferro delivered a lecture at Teatro Trianon in Rio de Janeiro, advocating for jazz music as a presentist form of art against the pervasive emotion of *saudade.*[9] Verde Gaio's founder's speech, "A Idade do Jazz-Band," turned into an article in which Ferro described jazz as a vibrant genre, foregrounding bodies as sources of artistic creation, a reminiscence again of Saint-Point's Futurist manifesto of desire and lust: "A Dansa é a independência do corpo. Tudo, na hora que passa, obedece ao movimiento, ao ritmo do corpo. A grande música é a música das formas. Corpo e alma vieram, durante séculos, divorciados. A dansa pôs a alma sobre o corpo, a seguir-lhe os contornos. A humanidade já não marcha: dansa!"

[9] According to João Alves das Neves, Antonio Ferro gave this talk in four other occasions. It was finally published by Editores Monteiro & C. in 1923 (n1, 141).

(Ferro 144). In his speech, Ferro praises Leonide Massine and regards him as a craftsman of dancers, devoted to creating flesh-and-bone puppets ("Ser artista, hoje, é recortar bonecos!"). The onetime editor of *Orpheu* attributes the limitlessness of jazz to Ballets Russes's influence. And he compares black people to "manipansos" (African idols, fetishes): "A arte negra é a mais realista de todas as artes. Não há nada mais parecido com um negro do que um manipanso. Nem outro negro se parece tanto" (152). He continues: "Nos Bailes Russos os corpos tomam a forma que desejam, as formas mais inverossímeis, menos humanas. . . Nos Bailes Russos não há a preocupação da humanidade, não há mesmo nenhuma preocupação. Os Bailes Russos não constituem um espectáculo, constituem um mundo, um mundo que ainda não estava descoberto..." (153). To Ferro, the jazz band is the "Bailado Russo da Música" (153). These reference through the constitution of a new order through aesthetic exploration was common to other reactionary modernists of the period, and António Ferro wanted Portugal to partake in that creation.

Moreover, Ferro's exotic defense of jazz, first introduced to a Brazilian audience, was condemned by the public in Lisbon on a purely racist basis (Raimundo 82). His concept of jazz coincides with the idea of music as belonging to the realm of the body—as opposed to the mind in the traditional Cartesian division. In this speech, the chief of the SPN/SNI reduced black bodies to mere fetishes and the principles of jazz to superstition. Ferro's attempt to exert control over dancing bodies might be another technique to bring music and dance into the patriarchal order, to "defeminize it" and even deracialize it, as racial bodies are mere fetishes, "manipansos," upon whom authority enforces its will. He invokes an art that puts a spell on bodies to be easily manipulated, like puppets, transposing to the realm of music and dance what a dictatorship does to a people. Going back to Brett's work, he understands that music

appropriation—as Ferro would end up doing in Verde Gaio and advocated for in "A Idade do Jazz-Band"— is a way to "anesthetize listeners" from the effects music has upon them (12).

With regard to the politics of the body during the Estado Novo, Luisa Roubaud states that the government expected the youth to embody the new "raça lusitana," which would have "uma corporeidade apolínea e impoluta, modelada na ginástica e nos desportos, na direcção do cumprimento da sublime missão universalista da raça" ("O Verde Gaio"). An internal document of the Estado Novo's Ministry of Education illustrates the regime's body politics concerning the "raça lusitana." The document is an annual report about good pedagogical practices for the period 1936-1937, and its goal is to provide schools with information to educate the youth in morality from a corporeal perspective. Doctors assisted public elementary and high schools and did research there to assess the national character and personality of younger generations. The report attests to the political interest of the Estado Novo in improving the Portuguese race, to make it less emotional and to build up character:

> Uma coisa porém é geral, que se encontrou em todos os meios: é a docilidade dos estudantes. Matéria plástica que se ageita [sic] a tudo o que se quere, desde que haja um pouco de habilidade e prestígio da parte do artista. O carácter da nossa juventude difere profundamente do carácter da mocidade alemã: aos nossos é fácil conquistar-lhes o espírito, dar-lhes uma orientação, mas é difícil mantê-los na linha, por falta de tenacidade. Disciplina interior fácil, mas disciplina externa difícil. Nos alemães é tudo ao contrario: as exterioridades estão na ordem, mas o espírito furta-se. A nossa docilidade facilita a obra da educação, mas a falta solidez, a falta de carácter torna-a muito precária em duração. Os estrangeiros que nos observam e que sabem observar (muitos não sabem) dizem que somos um povo que está à espera de quem o dirija. ("Relatório" 2)

This excerpt illustrates Ferro's idea, explored earlier, of bodies as "matéria plástica" or mere fetish on which to put a spell on as in the case of *manipansos*. Roubaud argues that the Estado Novo exerted politics of the body for the sake of renewal of the Lusitanian race, which one might see as along the lines of Ferro's allegation in favor of jazz:

> Nestes indícios de uma política corporal verifica-se uma coexistência paradoxal de sintomas de modernidade (revalorização do corpo), e de toda uma sintomatologia de sentido oposto (conservadora, coerciva, somatofóbica). Mas o seu fundamento predominante parece ser o da ancestral suspeição do corpo no judaico-cristianismo. Controlar e sublimar pulsões e energias corresponderia a sacralizá-las, em nome da causa do ressurgimento nacional. ("O Verde Gaio")

As a consequence of the encounter between Ferro's aesthetic choices and the Estado Novo's political apparatus, the idea of the body as a creative subject, through which desires and lust are exercised, also fell under the scope of state control during the dictatorship.

On June 19, 1923, Ferro's drama creation, *Mar Alto*, premiered in Portugal after being performed in São Paulo a year earlier. The play used parody and irony to address the topic of adultery through a love triangle, and it was deemed "immoral," "repugnant," and "pornographic" by some critics while booed by the public (Barreto 143). As a result of the shock it caused among the audience, it was censured by the Portuguese authorities of the time. Liberal and left-wing intellectuals backed Ferro in protests demanding that the Interior minister, military engineer António Maria da Silva, annul the prohibition. They won the fight, and the drama returned to the stage at the Teatro Novo in 1925. According to José Barreto's new account of Ferro's political activity as "anti-modern in meaning" (149), the latter's modernist pretensions were vague and superficial. After his dubious contribution to *Orpheu* magazine, limited to the

printing of his name as editor in the frontispiece, Ferro publicly distanced himself from Pessoa once Álvaro de Campos—one of Pessoa's heteronyms— parodied an incident suffered by Republican politician Afonso de Costa in the Lisbon newspaper *A Capital* on July 6, 1915. Ferro answered this with deference towards the Republican leader and announced that he would step down from his position as *Orpheu*'s editor (138). This marked a turning point in Ferro's relationship with the *Orpheu* group, anticipating his lack of commitment to modernist aesthetics and philosophy during the Estado Novo. But it was in 1943 that he definitely split from modernism in a speech on the occasion of ten years of the "Política do Espirito,"[10] where he confessed that he "despised" the word modernism (Barreto 144). This break might also explain why Almada Negreiros, painter and set designer himself, was never hired by the SPN/SNI to carry out any of Verde Gaio's sets.

Despite this dramatic breakdown, connections between the *Orpheu* group and Verde Gaio continued to bloom during the latter's first years of production. Poet António Botto introduced to Ferro a 22-year-old promising star of the dance scene, Francisco Florêncio Graça—who would later become Francis Graça (P. dos Santos 15). The young dancer's debut at the Teatro Novo—a short-lived "vanguardist theater" launched by António Ferro and closed down by the May 1926 dictatorship (Barreto 139; Roubaud, "O Verde Gaio" n2), consisted of a performance of Franz Schubert's *moment musical* no. 3, and a shimmy dance (P. dos Santos 14). However, against the backdrop of a homophobic and conservative society, the audience's grudging tolerance of a man

[10] In his speech, Ferro stated: "Eu sei que vanguardismo (detesto a palavra modernismo) e internacionalismo são duas palavras que andam quási sempre juntas. Mas para conseguir o seu divórcio bastará continuar o que temos feito: trabalhar pelo renascimento da nossa arte popular, audaciosa e livre, sem dar por isso, através dos tempos, oferta de motivos rasgados, amplos, originais à imaginação dos artistas portugueses, de temperamento inquieto, bem mais apaixonantes do que as abstracções geométricas, que tiveram, aliás, o seu papel, dos primeiros cubistas. Obra de nacionalização, devo acrescentar, que já fora iniciada, num plano ainda mais alto, pela admirável restauração dos monumentos nacionais que tornou o nosso passado tão presente, ia a dizer, tão futuro..." (*Dez Anos de Política do Espírito* 18).

dancing in what they considered an effeminate manner left Francis forlorn and forced him to abandon the Lisbon scene.

In his reflection upon the relationship between homosexuality and musicality, Philip Brett asserts that "music is a perfect field for the display of emotion. It is particularly accommodating to those who have difficulty in expressing feelings in day-to-day life, because the emotion is unspecified and unattached" (17). This effeminate condition attributed to music, and musicality for that matter, certainly affected public perception of Francis's debut that evening. Yet not all critics were cruel to him. Chronicler Avelino de Almeida commented on the piece enthusiastically laying the groundwork for Verde Gaio's future success: "exibiu-se o bailarino português Florêncio. Foi a verdadeira novidade da noite, porquanto nunca se tinha apresentado em público. Asseguram-nos que é uma vocação servida por uma singular força de vontade. Um autodidacta. Possui as condições plásticas exigidas pelo género de arte que abraçou. Nas danças clássicas teve belíssimas atitudes de estatuária e num bailado moderno a alegria e a desenvoltura requeridas" (qtd. in P. dos Santos 14). Regardless of the traumatizing event at the Teatro Novo, critics have rarely addressed Francis's work from a queer perspective.

Francis was the son of a rich merchant father and a well-educated, amateur-pianist mother. Born in 1902 in Bairro da Graça (Lisbon), he became interested in dance at an early age. His father disapproved of his taste for dancing, and forced Francis out from home as soon as he started his ballet training. Nonetheless, Francis never received formal education as a classical dancer. He studied music at the Conservatório Nacional, where he met musician and composer Frederico de Freitas—an active member of Verde Gaio (P. dos Santos 16). According to an advertising flyer for Parnaso ballet school—where he became ballet teacher—that features Francis's biography, he took lessons with Russian classical dancer N. Artamonof, who spent

some years in Lisbon ("Francis Graça: Professor de Ballet do Parnaso"). But Francis often declared to the media that he had started to dance by intuition ("principiei a dançar por intuição") (P. dos Santos 16).

After the 1925 scandal at the Teatro Novo, advised by his mother, Francis Graça moved to Paris to get inspiration from avant-garde movements first-hand, but he never actually learned the technical steps of classical ballet. He returned to the Lisbonean scene—this time to the revue— under a new stage name (Francis) to avoid being identified. In *Cabaz de Morangos* variety show, at the Éden Teatro, he even wore a mask while exploring foreign rhythms such as Charleston, in tune with his exotic new name. This time it was an audience and critic success. Victor Pavão dos Santos attributes the achievement to its "profundo saudosismo" (17). Francis turned out to be one of the most important restorers of the Portuguese revue. The revue *Água-Pé* premiered in 1927, starting a long-lasting collaboration with designer José Barbosa and musician Frederico de Freitas—to whom Francis brought to the revue and who would later become a tight collaborator of the Estado Novo by composing the anthems of the fascist organizations Legião Portuguesa and Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina (Marinho 163). *Água-Pé,* which included the aboved mentioned sketch *Bonecos Russos,* remained on stage for a year, and its longevity became a record never equaled (P. dos Santos 18).[11] Apropos of *Chá de Parreira*'s premiere in 1929—in which Francis also starred, António Ferro wrote a critique in the *Diário de Noticias* tracing back the dancer's connection to himself:

> Quem é Francis? Um bailarino, cheio de sensibilidade, que eu apresentei, pela primeira vez, ao público, no Teatro Novo, e que era vaiado quase todas as noites...Viu-se forçado a pôr máscara e a mudar de nome para fazer a sua carreira em Portugal. Recordo-me que

[11] While *Água-Pé* was on stage, Francis released *Sete e Meio*, a modernist magazine that popularized the hairstyle *à la garçonne* on dancer Beatriz Costa (P. dos Santos 19).

> tive de fazer um discurso, no dia da sua estreia, procurando defendê-lo contra possíveis ataques, legitimando o seu direito à vida e o seu direito à arte! E isto foi há pouco mais de três anos! Francis foi saudado anteontem, no Variedades, com a maior ovação da noite! E eu não posso deixar de sorrir, com uma certa ironia e um certo orgulho, quando olho para trás, quando me lembro do caminho percorrido... (qtd. in P. dos Santos 20).

In her own memoir, Fernanda de Castro—who along with her husband António Ferro participated in Verde Gaio as script writer—describes the latter's choice of Francis to direct Verde Gaio as an early discovery of a rough diamond that only António Ferro could have made. She emphasizes Francis's physical attributes as well as his teenage-like appearance suitable for representing the new *raça lusitana*:

> O Francis estreou-se neste mesmo Teatro Novo com um êxito um pouco reticente, pois era a primeira vez que um bailarino de *collant* fazia um espectáculo sozinho, e essa estranheza do público levou-o a dançar, pouco tempo depois, no Teatro Éden, com mascarilha. O António, porém, viu imediatamente nele o homem de que necessitava para o seu incipiente "Verde Gaio": fino, inteligente, sensível, extremamente harmonioso em todos os seus gestos e em todos os seus movimentos, com uma figura esbelta de adolescente, e embora sem escola, com qualidades bem visíveis de bailarino nato. (39)

In 1930, Francis wrote to Ferro from Rio de Janeiro expressing gratitude for his support: "a si devo muito todos os sucessos e a minha justificação como artista nesse Portugal ingrato, e, que com tanto interesse e carinho tem acompanhado a minha carreira de bailarino." The letter attests to the relationship both hold before Verde Gaio's creation.

The 1925 public scandal also did not restrain Francis from partaking in the first Portuguese talkie *A Severa* (1931), based on Romantic writer Julio Dantas's novel and theater

play of the same title.[12] In it, a young Francis dances a *fandango ribatejano* in a homosocial setting compound exclusively by men. In Portuguese folklore from Ribatejo, men often perform fandangos in front of each other as a danced duel.[13] Moreover, although fandango is often danced with the thumbs inside the vest, in the film, Francis left his particular imprint on the performance by placing his thumbs in the sash, closer to the hips, in a less thuggish manner but much more sensual and feminine. Francis even added some steps that seemly do not belong to a fandango, as he lifts his left heel, touches it with the same side's hand, and then repeats the movement on the opposite side, a direct adaptation of Charleston's steps. He stands on top of a table dancing alone to music joyfully played by a guitar and a concertina (0:55:50-0:56:05). In 1944, António Botto, "o único homossexual reconhecido" in Portugal, re-signified the peasant from Ribatejo into a "*dandy* rústico" through his poem "Página de folclore" (Klobucka, *O mundo gay* 160). Klobucka argues that in an unpublished version of this poem revisited ("Campino do Ribatejo"), Botto transformed the *campino* figure into an object of desire, both feminine and masculine, and a national symbol of Portuguese masculinity (161-162). Francis previously embodied the *campino do Ribatejo* in the film and he probably became an inspiration for Botto as they were old acquaintances: "Niguém se mexe. Só ele, / Bamboleado, viril, / Desempenado, perfeito" (qtd. in 160).

Additionally, Francis anticipates here an eclectic conception of Portuguese folkloric dance that he would develop later on in the Bailados, as he mixes different local styles to create new choreographies with a folk hint. Francis's heretic idea about folklore can also explain the

[12] Modernist artist Almada Negreiros wrote in 1916 a futurist *Manifesto Anti-Dantas* wherein he blamed the writer for installing a culture of pleasing the masses and flattering the powerful, without artistic talent. Moreover, the fado talkie *A Canção de Lisboa* (1933) parodies *A Severa* so far as it echoes the language of Almada Negreiros' *Manifesto*, who in turn was also responsible for making the film's poster (Colvin 159-160; 167).

[13] Luísa Roubaud defines fandango as "a regional tap dance, performed in the form of a challenge, rivalry, or communication between two men, where the dancers' virtuosity and improvisation determine the dance, each one exhibiting his own style of steps" ("After Looking North and West" 328).

intrusion of a rural dance as fandango in the first fado and phono film, a very urban and popular genre, as well as the combination of Charleston and fandango's steps in his performance.[14] In Verde Gaio's debut in 1940, Francis also danced the ballet piece *Ribatejo*, which included a fandango. According to Victor Pavão dos Santos, this might be the *bailado* that most recalls Francis's former choreographies in the revue (45).

In *A Severa*'s scene, there is a man watching Francis's steps as he would start dueling after the dance is over, although the camera only captures this man from the backside. The rest of the audience is sit on a table with low-spirited gestures. Romão's character (Antonio Fagim) is particularly downcast since he has been deceived by Severa's lover, the Count of Marialva and he is thirst for revenge. The fact that Francis stands alone in front of a male audience echoes the turn-of-the-century cabarets by placing him in the position of traditionally female dancers, as an object of what Laura Mulvey coined "male gaze." In this case, his body is the object onto which same-sex fantasies are projected,[15] and he also dares other men to dance before him as the very nature of *fandango* suggests.[16] Thus, he questions gender roles proposing new ways of looking at performances. The whole tavern where the dance takes place is about man-on-man relationships—male musicians accompanying Francis's performance, Francis dancing in front of other men, and men discussing about other men's deeds—in a film clearly focused on a woman, a Severa. In this sense, the scene is a nod to homoerotic relationships that would later also be explored by Francis in the Bailados Portugueses. But needless to say, despite these aesthetic arrangements, during the Estado Novo—Europe's longest fascist dictatorship of the twentieth

[14] In a study about first Portuguese talkies *A Severa* and *Canção de Lisboa*, Michael Colvin underscores the fact that both films avoided falling into the clutches of the future SPN resulting into privileged films of a time in-between, which address issues related to disaffection among urban popular classes (155).
[15] In studying Hollywoodian cinema, Laura Mulvey's classic essay reflects upon the idea of vision and power based on the idea that women in cinema are displayed for male heterosexual desire projected through gaze (62).
[16] It is worth mentioning that from the 1950s Verde Gaio included in its repertoire the piece *Fado* inspired in Julio Danta's *A Severa* with music by Jaime Silva Filho.

century—repression against sexual deviants was brutally imposed through police raids and forced labor institutions or detention facilities called *Mitras*. These prisons have existed since 1936 and were utilized to arrest and torture people whose sexual behavior did not stick to the Catholic paradigm the Estado Novo wanted to exert over the bulk of Portuguese society (Ana Cristina Santos 158; Almeida).

Ruth Walden, the artistic name of Hildegard Engelmann (1910-1990) a young dancer of German origin, soon became Francis's *partenaire* in the revue. Their partnership consolidated with the success achieved dancing "Estilização do Fado" as part of the revue *Areias de Portugal*, released in the Fall of 1932 (P. dos Santos 23). In 1935, the pair began opting more and more for classical forms of dance. At the Teatro Politeama Walden and Francis presented their first recital to piano music, with compositions by Ruy Coelho, Frederico de Freitas, and António Melo, as well as Robert Schumann, Frederic Chopin and Gabriel Fauré (30). A journalist at the *O Noticias Ilustrado* probably in 1935 (the newspaper clipping does not include a date) suggested that Francis's talent was wasted at the revue and that he should aspire to something bigger:

> Várias vezes nos temos referido à obra notável que, no nosso teatro ligeiro vem realizando o bailarino português Francis, como intérprete de bailados e como encenador. Agora, o artista acaba de obter um legítimo e triunfal êxito, no palco do Politeama. Daqui o felicitamos e com prazer levamos a todo o país algumas imagens das suas últimas criações, plenas de bom gosto, de intuição e de talento. No dia em que um empresário português, com audácia e cultura, surja no nosso teatro, encontará neste artista português o director duma companhia de bailados e folk-lore, no género do "Blau Wogel" ou da "Chauve-Souris." E será esse um empreendimento de alta propaganda internacional do nosso pais. Estamos mesmo convencidos de que, na opereta moderna, um director de

> bailados e um encenador como Francis, poderia trazer ao teatro português noites de inédita elegância europeia. ("A obra de um grande artista")

This chronicle already points out what would become Verde Gaio's true nature: a company destined to entertain and please the elite to generate on them the perception of accessing the cosmopolitan centers of aesthetic creation from Lisbon. No wonder that in 1937 Francis flirted with the idea of abandoning the revue to devote his energies to the Portuguese *bailados*:

> Talvez porque me cansei desse ambiente em que a dança tem de ser essencialmente decorativa e mecanizada, afastando mesmo, afinal, o artista da sua arte, do sentido mais profundo, mais belo, mais sério da interpretação. Nesse género de bailados, o bailarino começa a ter medo de se confundir com o acrobata, de se limitar à perfeição do exercício e à tirania do que é 'vistoso' –medo de ceder à tentação da habilidade... E justamente na dança portuguesa—com a qual julgo que está de acordo a minha sensibilidade – a técnica precisa de ser aparente, para lhe conservar o carácter de simplicidade, de graça espontânea—a sua verdadeira poesia, a exacta significação. (qtd. in P. dos Santos 24)

Francis's dance description resembles Rudolf von Laban's treatises on dance as separated from gymnastics to embrace more natural movements (see Introduction). Throughout this time, the Ruth Walden and Francis Graça pair also strengthened the relationship with the SPN through its chief António Ferro. Accompanied by actress and singer Corina Freire, Francis Graça and Ruth Walden performed on several occasions to entertain the *soirées* organized in Europe by Ferro and Fernanda de Castro (P. dos Santos 29). According to painter and Verde Gaio collaborator Paulo Ferrera, it was against the backdrop of the Exposição do Mundo Português, inaugurated on June 23, 1940, that António Ferro determined to call Francis to create *bailados* for the exhibition. There was no such thing as a body of dancers in Portugal, but Francis's experience at the revue

made it easy for him to train young dancers interested in ballet, who were ready to dance in front of an audience in three months (38-39).

Francis Graça and Ruth Walden were the main stars of the spectacle. However, in parallel and upon his return from Nazi Germany, Valentim de Barros, a transgender dancer, performed in the 1940 Expo with his *maître de danse*, Ruth Asvin (Laginha). Most likely, the performance had expressionist hints as Ruth Asvin, who had trained De Barros in painting, theater, and dance, had been in touch with the new currents of Ausdruckstanz in Germany through Mary Wigman, Harald Kreutzberg, and Gret Palucca. Hitherto, scandals had marked Valentim de Barros's life. As part of a dancing troupe, he had traveled to Spain during the Civil War, where the Republicans imprisoned him. He escaped captivity by cross-dressing as a nun and finally reached Nazi Germany through France and Italy. In Stuttgart's Staatsoper, he gained fame as a dancer, and he only left the country as a result of increasing turmoil (Cascais 142-143),[17] although he also claimed to have participated in "festas nazis" (Laginha). That same year, Valentim de Barros performed on behalf of the Portuguese Estado Novo, and after comings and goings from the Miguel Bombarda psychiatric sanatorium, he was definitely incarcerated to "cure" his sexual deviation, as I have already mentioned in the Introduction. Deviant bodies incarnated the Estado Novo's corporeality in one of its main commemorative events of the Estado Novo, namely the Exposição do Mundo Português. This fact shows António Ferro's interest in promoting queer modernity that could convey an image of Portugal as cosmopolitan.

Francis was, then, ready to incarnate the new Portuguese race's exemplary body, immersed in national ideas, traditional rhythms, and the local psychology. Notably, Daniel

[17] I believe that António Fernando Cascais mistakes Ruth Asvin (also spelled as Aswin) for Ruth Walden when he describes Asvin as a "bailarina alemã convidada para *partenaire* de Francis Graça no Verde Gaio, criado por António Ferro, dada a inexistência, à época, de mulheres portuguesas profissionais da dança" (142).

Tércio points out that the reason Ferro chose Francis as head of the company might have been that the SPN/SNI's chief found "um corpo português, plástico e atlético que podia ser apresentado lá fora sem deslustrar a raça lusa" (139). A paramount question of Portuguese modernity, albeit superficially assimilated by the Bailados Verde Gaio, is, as I discussed earlier, the exploration of the body and its limits. Francis's body had been objected to the camera lens during the First Portuguese Republic (1910-1926), a liberal regime that allowed innovative artistic projects to flourish both in ethics and aesthetics. Francis's studio image, taken by Silva Nogueira—who along with Manuel San Payo became one of the most important photographers of the period—is proof of changes in taste and the conception of male nudity as object of desire (Image 7). Already in the 1910s, Almada Negreiros had been the object of nude photographs performing Ancient Greek statues (Laginha, *História do Bailado* 47). But here again the main inspirational input were the Ballets Russes' dancers portraitures, as Francis's picture bears some similarities to Léonide Massine's image of a pre-production photograph for *La Legende de Joseph.* Both silhouettes captured male nudity in between Christian iconography and Greek homoeroticism (Image 8). According to Peter Stoneley, the ragged garment of Massine's costume portrayed him as Diaghilev's "queer icon" and stimulated masculine eroticism.[18] The ballet became popularly known as "Les Jambes de Joseph" (78).

[18] By contrast, Garafola suggests that Massine often masqueraded his body, unlike Nijinsky or later Anton Dolin and Serge Lifar, who resume "Nijinsky's erotic packaging—the slim waist, the indiscreet nipple, the make-up, the artful pose and gesture" ("The Sexual Iconography" 61).

Image 7. Francis Graça, photographed by Joaquim da Silva Nogueira circa. 1925. Courtesy of the Museu Nacional do Teatro e da Dança.

Image 8. Leonide Massine in *La Légende de Joseph* (1914). Photographed by Rudolf Dührkoop. Accessed from the Bibliothèque nationale de France.

An important part of this modernist legacy can also be appreciated in Verde Gaio's topics and design sets. It is the case of ballet *Lenda das Amendoeiras*, which premiered in 1940 at the Teatro da Trinidade, with scenography by Maria Keil, plot by Fernanda de Castro, and choreography by Francis. Like the most Orientalizing pieces of the Ballets Russes—such as *Schéhérazade* (1910) or *Les Orientales* (1910) —*Lenda das Amendoeiras* reveals a sexualized conception of the foreign, in particular, Middle Eastern, other. In the case of the Ballets Russes,

the Golden Slave played by Vaslav Nijinsky in *Schéhérazade* is particularly eloquent (Image 9). Despite interpreting a heterosexual character, he showed off his homoerotic desire, transformed into a totally sexualized being: "he performed a general libidinal excessiveness that would seem able to take many forms. He was an incarnation of pleasurable compliance, of the Orient in all its imagined omnisexual glory" (Stoneley 74). Additionally, Garafola points out the subversive image of masculinity embodied by the Golden Slave as he "ravished rather than courted his mistress; flaunted rather than concealed his body; loosed rather bridled his physical prowess." For Garafola, Nijinsky's Golden Slave was an example of a total "liberated self" (*Diaghilev's Ballets Russes* 32-33).

Image 9. Vaslav Nijinsky, photographed by Auguste Bert in a costume for the ballet Schéhérazade (1910). Library of Congress, Public Domain.

Verde Gaio's piece is even more complex since the Orient is located precisely in Portugal itself, as Arabs ruled the Iberian Peninsula from 711 to 1492. *Lenda das Amendoeiras* tells the story of a Moor King from Algarve, who comes back from fighting in the North and brings captive a Scandinavian princess. In Portugal, she suffers from a strange disease, but Court physicians do not know how to remedy her affliction. Finally, astrologers consult the stars, which in turn state: "Senhor, o mal da princesa é o mal da saudade, a nostalgia da neve..." (qtd. in P. dos Santos 94). As a solution, the King orders the lands of Algarve to be covered with almond trees. In Spring, when they blossom, the Princess recovers and she cries out: "Senhor, … a neve! Neve perfumada!" (94).

Location here is tricky since the action takes place both afar and nearby. The legend's temporal span is at the same time measured in cultural distance from Catholic Portugal. This gap imposes an exotic aura onto the scenery, while the plot is presented as drawn from Portuguese history itself in an effort to create a historical narrative suitable for the Estado Novo's imperialist aspirations. This piece also attests to Ferro and Francis's confusion of Portuguese motif and folklore.[19] The ballet's setting clearly predates the formation of national folklore; thus, its Portuguese essence is vaguely connected to traces of the Iberian Arabic past and not to vernacular dance and music. Pieces such as *Lenda das Amendoeiras* were certainly not inspired by folklore dances, and the same can be said for *Inês de Castro* or *D. Sebastião.*

[19] Victor Pavão dos Santos drives attention to this confusion when Ferro and Francis firstly discussed the creation of a Folkloric Ballet: "Tanto ferro como Francis consideravam tratar-se de um conjunto de bailados folclóricos, embora, desde início pareça gerar-se uma certa confusão entre folclore e motivos portugueses, já que temas como Inês de Castro não poderiam expressar-se senão através de uma linguagem mímica ou do chamado bailado clássico, mas nunca com base numa linguagem proveniente das danças folclóricas" (40).

Image 10. Sketch from Lenda das Amendoeiras with set design by Maria Keil. Courtesy of the Museu Nacional do Teatro e da Dança.

Compared to Leon Bakst's costumes, filled with exuberance and sensuality as shown by Nijinsky's half-nudity and jewelry (including earrings), Maria Keil's costumes constituted a timid response to exotic modernist demands (Image 10). Male clothing worn by "Moorish" characters features prudish cotton harem trousers—as opposed Nijinsky's silken trousers—flannel vests embroidered with sequins, and Arab-like turbans. This piece is paradigmatic of a castrated modernism through which António Ferro and Francis Graça took on new forms of sexuality and aesthetics, but always discreetly, without disturbing authority. Verde Gaio's modernist approach was often abandoned halfway. In fact, "[t]he cultural outlook of the estado novo was increasingly reactionary, as was to be expected from a dictatorship which gathered

most of its support among the conservative middle classes, Catholics and monarchists" (Villaverde Cabral 347).[20]

Francis's attempt to construct an exoticizing and sexualized ballet only met some ornamental criteria, such as reference to astrology and Orientalized clothing and set. This piece should also be read against the backdrop of the Estado Novo's back-and-forths to court Muslim allies to expand and protect African colonies, first in the 1930s in Guinea and from the mid-1960s against Marxist independent movements. In 1939, priest António da Silva Rêgo published his influential book *O oriente e o occidente*, wherein he defines Islam as "an easy, sensual and worldly religion, bloody and militaristic" (Vakil 38), confirming Edward Said's analysis of the Orient as a place to project the West sexual fantasies onto. Another significant aspect is the selection of two women, Maria Keil and Fernanda de Castro—who both collaborated with Verde Gaio only on that occasion—to design and conceive of the ballet. This choice emphasizes the idea of the Orient as a gendered other, relegating the Arab mystique to the feminine realm.

Verde Gaio's first official performance took place on November 8, 1940, at the Teatro da Trinidade, in Lisbon. It was a success, and the end date had to be postponed from November 13 to 21 (P. dos Santos 45). *Dança da Menina Tonta* became one of the most popular dances and songs of the *bailado* during this first tournée. Yet Verde Gaio did not reappear on stage until 1943. In this instance, the ballet suit *Imagens da Terra e do Mar*, with script by António Ferro and choreography by Francis received much attention from journalists and critics. In particular, Fernando Lopes Graça, political dissident, criticized in his book *Talia, Euterpe e Tespsicore* (1945) its similarity to the revue, as acts transitioned without coherence, every single one

[20] According to choreographer Maurice Béjart, Ballets Russes's revolution only occurred at an aesthetic level, as it did not change the ethics of dance (Roubaud, "O Verde Gaio" n. 1). The fact that the Ballets Russes might have only proposed changes at the aesthetic level seems to make them suitable as a model for a timid modernist creation of conservative politics such as the Verde Gaio.

featuring a grand finale (385-387). Thus, Francis could not escape his technical and aesthetic training in the revue, which would permeate the *bailados*.

Despite being a project for the elite, Verde Gaio was acclaimed among popular urban classes. Due to the troupe's success, organizers promoted radio broadcasting of the performances and the company's transfer to the Coliseu dos Recreios to expand their dance productions to the general public (Pinto, "'Portugal, meu amigo'" 175). The same *O Noticias Ilustrado* article mentioned earlier about Francis's return to the Politeama theater in 1935 suggests that before becoming the pride of the Portuguese elite, Francis was firstly discovered and loved by the common people in the revue: "Recebido ao princípio friamente, depois desinteressadamente e por fim atingindo e dominando vitoriosamente todo o público, Francis conseguiu à força de talento e de amor da sua profissão, vencer completamente no nosso meio hostil e inculto. Mas foi o povo, ainda antes das elites, o que primeiro compreendeu, por instinto, a beleza das suas criações artísticas. E é essa a sua mais bela vitória." Francis was the beginning of a series of appropriations of popular and folk legacies made by the Estado Novo's propaganda agency to cement the regime's endurance.

2.2 To Be Classic or Not to Be: Folklore Contested

In 1945 Francis abandoned Verde Gaio without further explanation. The SNI informed the President of the artists' union (Direcção do Sindicato Nacional dos Artistas Teatrais) that Francis Graça had decided to rescind the contract with the troupe on September 24, 1945 (F. Ribeiro). Portuguese painter and Verde Gaio collaborator Paulo Ferreira attributes this decision to SNI's refusal to raise his salary (P. dos Santos 67). Over the previous years, the company had suffered ups and downs. In 1944, before Verde Gaio's potential disappearance, António Ferro

vividly described the company's *raison d'être* to other Estado Novo agencies, begging the government not to let the troupe die:

> Deseja o Secretariado . . . não deixar morrer tal realização, pois com ela conta o Govêrno quando necessita homenagear estrangeiros de alta categoria, que nos visitam, para exemplo citando-se a visita de Sua Excª. O Ministro de Assuntos Exteriores de Espanha, General Conde de Jordana, no ano de 1942, ou ainda quando deseja dar realce a comemorações como as do sesquicentenário do Teatro Nacional de São Carlos, onde os Bailados Portuguese "Verde Gaio" foram incluídos, como número de relevo e de categoria. (Ferro, Letter to Comissário do Desemprego 2)

Ferro conceived of Verde Gaio as a key instrument of social distinction and one more element of national representation—destined to elevate Portugal to the level of other states with national ballet companies and whose theaters functioned as spaces to seal business deals and sites of aristocratic gossiping. The Estado Novo's upper classes, and for that matter "extrangeiros de categoria" needed to have a ballet troupe, just as the state had a flag, an anthem, or a capital city. For Ferro, having a ballet meant reaching artistic status as a country: "Quando um país consegue ter o seu 'ballet', ainda que modesto, é sinal de que atingiu um alto nível não só artístico mas cultural e espiritual. *Ballets*, autênticos *ballets*, há seis ou sete no Mundo. O nosso será o ultimo, se quiserem, mas está nesse número…" (qtd. in Sasportes, *História* 284).

Moreover, during the colonial wars in Africa (1961-1974), Verde Gaio travelled there to cheer up the Portuguese troops fighting against Marxist liberation movements in Mozambique and Angola. In 1966, in the Teatro Manuel Rodriguez, in Maputo (at the time officially named Lourenço Marques), Mozambique, soldiers enthusiastically clapped their hands before the evidence of attending a form of high art, reserved for the high society ("Espetáculo"). Despite

the troupe's clear folkloric bias, by performing at a theater stage Verde Gaio was granted an institutional aura that signified the deployment of Portuguese technique over the colonized subject, regardless of the tangible outcome of the war.

In 1945, Francis Graça's departure marks a turning point in the company and allows the entrance of a new choreographer with different artistic ethics, Guglielmo Morresi (1904-1972).[21] Scholar Luísa Roubaud defines Verde Gaio's eclectic nature throughout its history: "using a curious hybrid of folklore, expressionism, ballet, and mime, and combining modernity, propaganda, and nationalism, the company exalted images of Portuguese folklore and national history, performing an invented ethnicity and tradition" ("After Looking North and West" 324). This ontological confusion is embedded into Verde Gaio's name, which in turn is a play on words. Honoring its modernist will, Ferro baptized the company after Igor Stravinsky's music piece *L'oiseau de feu* and Maurice Maeterlinck's *L'oiseau bleu*, as verde gaio (Green Bird) is a bird type. In addition, Verde Gaio is a popular Portuguese song and dance.

Thus, Morresi became Verde Gaio's director in 1947, going for a different style that took classical technique as a frame of reference, relegating folklore to the past. He advocated for the inclusion of formally trained foreign dancers. The SNI justified the changes carried out in the company by assuming that the *bailado* needed to move to a new phase:

> Os resultados da experiência, para a qual muito contribuiu o talento e a sensibilidade de Francis Graça, não podiam ser mais animadores, consagrados no consenso público e pelos críticos mais exigentes da Península. Mas passada a fase da experiência, tornava-se necessário estimular, segundo métodos internacionalmente consagrados se bem que sujeitos ao espírito nacional, a formação e educação de novos artistas bailarinos,

[21] Sometimes he was referred to as Gilherme Morresi.

> desenvolvendo assim uma iniciativa e proporcionando a revelação e aperfeiçoamento de vocações. (Press Release "O Grupo de Bailados Verde Gaio" 1-2)

The troupe's transformation into a more classical ballet company is conceived as going a step further in a hierarchical conception of art. SNI's text suggests that the acquisition of classical ballet techniques constitutes an advance imposed by the group's own experience, almost a biological evolution of the corps de ballet. Thus, social differences between vernacular-inspired art and ballet are presented as differences of expertise on a hierarchical scale.

It is striking that Verde Gaio's ontological turn coincides with changes in the Estado Novo's propaganda machine that moved in the opposite direction. After the Second World War, the SNI strengthened efforts to create a popular culture for the enjoyment of the masses, in order to promote its own survival before liberal democracies' consolidation. Part of this strategy focused on promoting fado as a popular genre that expanded from Lisbon and Coimbra to the rest of the country, particularly thanks to the figures of Maria Teresa de Noronha and Amália Rodrigues. From the 1950s on, the populist turn within Salazar's regime results in the exaltation of the well-known "tres efes," namely, "Fado, Fátima, Futebol" (Nery 224-241).

In this context, it is unclear how arbitrary Guglielmo Morresi's appointment was as Verde Gaio's director. According to Secretariat's records, Morresi, then principal dancer of the Teatro dell'Opera di Roma, was in Lisbon at the exact moment when the SNI was looking for a director for its *bailados* (Ferro, Letter to Director da Política Internacional). However, his indirect connections to the Ballets Russes did not go unnoticed. Morresi had been a student of Enricco Cecchetti, an Italian choreographer and ballet teacher associated with Diaghilev and the Ballets Russes. In fact, at the Ballets Russes, Cecchetti was responsible for developing the dancers' technique as his methods included strengthening muscles and joints. Among his pupils

were the renowned names of Nijinsky, Pavlova, Massine, Nijinska, and Balanchine (Beaumont 25-26). In turn, Morresi has had a successful career under Mussolini's dictatorship as a dancer, teacher, and choreographer of both live spectacles and cinema. He had been choreographer at the 1937 Venice Biennale, and collaborated with the Roman Cinecittá in films such as *La principessa Tarakanova* (1938), *Una romantica avventura* (1940), and *Il ponte dei sospiri* (1940) (Press Release "O Grupo de Bailados Verde Gaio" 2).

The truth is that Portugal lacked a tradition in classical ballet, as noted earlier. The Conservatory inaugurated in Lisbon in 1839 could not promote either ballet creations or dancers liable to perform at European theaters. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Lisbon lacked an independent opera company, and foreign dance troupes played second fiddle to opera, even erasing choreographies when a piece demanded it. Independent dance companies often played during opera's intermissions, and it was rare to find a spectacle featuring dance exclusively (Sasportes, *Trajectória* 61-70). Internal documents of the SNI devoted to Verde Gaio show how the troupe had to import ballet shoes from Italy and other parts of Europe to continue their work. According to António Ferro, the purchase of ballet shoes in 1947 responded to a change in the training of Verde Gaio's dancers as they started dancing *on points,* something they did not do until Morresi's arrival in Portugal: "Tem procurado o Secretariado aperfeiçoar a técnica dos bailarinos do referido grupo, e para isso os seus componentes são submetidos a intensos exercícios de ginástica, e as bailarinas ao estudo da *dança em pontas,* pormenor que ate agora se não tinha ainda conseguido por falta de calçado adequado" (Ferro, Letter to Director Geral das Alfândegas 1). Ferro justified the decision to import ballet shoes on the fact that there were no such goods for sale in the Portuguese market, there were no technicians or materials for the shoes to be produced in the country, and the technique was required as part of a dancer's training,

although the company had already achieved success without dancing *on points*.[22] Often dancers had to rely on old ballet shoes, or even shoes borrowed from other troupes for training and rehearsing, as shipments did not always arrive on time (Graça, Letter to Fernando Paiva 2).[23]

In the same vein, Morresi ordered masks— "mascarilhas de modelo veneziano"—from Italy, purchased from a business of his acquaintance. Again, the reason to buy these items abroad was due to their inexistence in Portugal (Eça de Queiros). The inclusion of materials foreign to Portuguese culture jeopardized the idea of a ballet based on Portuguese national folklore. Quite the contrary, Morresi seemed to be reshaping the Bailados to turn it into a classic ballet troupe, with SNI's—in other words, António Ferro's—approval. In this scenario, Portugal would finally have its standard ballet school for the upper classes' enjoyment. At the same time, dancers both national and foreign were obligated to join the national union of theatrical artists (Sindicato Nacional dos Artistas Teatrais), a fascist vertical union controlled by the Estado Novo (Da Costa, Letter to Director-Artístico do Grupo de Bailados Verde Gaio). Ferro hoped to have a full-time corps de ballet dedicated to entertaining Lisbon's bourgeoisie so that its dancers did not partake of more mundane dance genres, such as the revue: "Os bailarinos que actuam nos bailados não devem ser licenciados durante alguns meses, para os não deixar elaborar contratos com Êmpresas de Teatro de Revista, onde adquirem vícios de técnica e perdem todos os ensinamentos que durante os exercícios e ensaios diários lhes são ministrados" (Ferro, Letter to Comissário do

[22] Over the years, Portugal continued to import ballet shoes from other European countries. In 1961 the Secretariado still purchased ballet shoes from Paris and London through its diplomats (Da Costa, Letter to Director Geral dos Negócios Económicos e Consulares).

[23] According to Francis, every year they ran short of shoes, disturbing Verde Gaio's performances: "Todos os anos tem sido uma luta enervante e desanimadora, pois embora eu peça com antecedência de muitos mêses para se fazer a encomenda para Paris e conseguir portador, estamos sempre até à ultima hora a ter que fugir ao treino para poupar as que restam, o que tira a cada bailarina o domínio seguro da sua técnica, e estarmos até 3 dias antes do espectáculo, como aconteceu o ano passado, para nos dizerem que não chegavam as sapatilhas que eu tinha pedido quase um ano antes, tendo as bailarinas inglesas do Sadler's Wels, outras com as que tinham já quebradas pondo-lhes muito verniz por dentro para conseguirem fazer 2 espectáculos, com sacrifício, pois se houvesse terceiro já não podiam" (2).

Desemprego 3). It was often the case that best dancers abandoned the company to enroll in music halls where they got better economic compensation and had less work to do (Lage, Letter to António Ferro 2).

During Morresi's tenure, classical pieces were preferred over Portuguese creations. On the evening of November 29, 1947, Guglielmo Morresi's troupe debuted at the Teatro Nacional de S. Carlos ("Memo 20659"). The program included *Festas no Jardim* (Petits Riens) by Mozart, *Dança da Menina Tonta* by Frederico de Freitas, *Tarantela* by Rossini, *Chula do Douro* by Viana da Mota, *Pavana para uma Infanta Defunta* by Ravel, *Noite sem fim-música da Dança Macabra* by Saint-Saëns, and *Ribatejo* also by Frederico de Freitas with choreography by Francis Graça. The "Memo" states that there was a "renovação da orquestração, montage, guarda-roupa e coreografia de outros bailados." Moreover, Verde Gaio lost some of its independence as a performing troupe and became the dancing accompaniment for the Teatro S. Carlos's orchestra. Contrary to other traditions, particularly the Russian one, the Portuguese ballet group became more dependent on orchestras to survive.

Concerning internal affairs within the troupe, it is worth mentioning that Morresi was on bad terms with some of Verde Gaio's collaborators, namely, pianist Joana Tavares de Mello and Frederico de Freitas. In fact, according to Freitas, Morresi declared that Verde Gaio would never again dance to any of his music, and he even regretted having choreographed *Dança da Menina Tonta*: "declarou em termos violentos e incorrectos que jamais dansaria música da minha autoria, acrescentando ainda, que, se dava por arrependido de ter coreografado a 'Menina Tonta'" (Freitas, Letter to António Ferro 1). Both Tavares de Mello and Freitas complained of Morresi's degrading treatment of them. In particular, Tavares de Mello report to the Secretariat that Morresi had demanded that she play the piano after hours to create a Spanish ballet of his private

interest and utterly unrelated to Verde Gaio: "diante de todos os artistas, na atitude e maneiras mais desabridas e violentas, impróprias de um dirigente para uma subordinada e de um homem para uma mulher, declarou que eu era obrigada a cumprir tudo quanto ele determinasse" (De Mello 2). These unfortunate episodes help to highlight the gap between Verde Gaio's foundational idea as a folkloric ballet and Ferro's ambition to create a cosmopolitan dance group.

In 1948, Swedish dancer Ivo Cramér (1921-2009) became Verde Gaio's director, thanks to Paulo Ferreira's suggestion (Sasportes, *História* 288).[24] Cramér was influenced by Rudolf von Laban and Kurt Jooss's expressionist school.[25] He was the pupil of not only avant-garde choreographers Brigit Cullberg and Sigurd Leeder—a Jooss's collaborator too—but also classic ballet masters' Lilian Karina and Vera Volkova. He had been the director of the Swedish Dance Theater too (*Bailados Verdeg-Gaio* 1). As Verde Gaio's director he prepared training lessons in modern ballet of expressionist roots (Sasportes, *História* 288). However, Cramér's tenure conflicted with Francis Graça's return to the company that same year. As shown by internal correspondence between Cramér and Ferro, the former was not happy with Francis coming back to the Bailados. Admittedly, he proposed to the Secretariat two alternatives: either to have two groups within Verde Gaio, or for him and Francis to work with the whole troupe separately. In addition, he demanded that the SNI expand the training and rehearsing period: "Aucun ballet du monde travaille moins que *sept heures par jour*—sauf Verde Gaio" (Cramér, Letter to António Ferro; emphasis in the original). However, it can be inferred from internal conversations that Francis still held the biggest share of power within the company.[26] It is also unclear why the

[24] In the ANTT the name is spelled Crammer.
[25] See the Introduction for a background on Laban's dance treatises.
[26] As an example of Francis's growing power, there is a situation showing how norms applied to the company could be break when Francis's deemed it necessary. Thus, Despite SNI's normative disapproval of the temporary inclusion of dancers in the state-owned company, Francis managed to get Tomás da Costa as a temporary dancer (Lage, Letter to Tomás da Costa). Previously Lage had stated that "[the Secretariat] não aceita, em caso algum, a admisão nos Bailados Verde-Gaio de qualquer elemento em condições especiais ou excepcionais de ordem moral, com reflexos

Secretariat decided to hire Ivo Cramér since after Guglielmo Morresi's departure, Francis Graça took over as first dancer and choreographer (Lage, Letter to Director do Teatro Nacional de S. Carlos).

Yet, the Swedish choreographer did not last long on command. After Cramér's departure, in 1949, Francis continued advocating for classic training. He suggested hiring French dancer Violette Quenolle from the Opéra National de Paris. As reported by Francisco Lage, Francis solicited her inclusion in the troupe, arguing that she would become an important asset for the company: "de se fazer evoluir a técnica escolar dos componentes seus dirigidos, principalmente para defrontar reparos e apreciações da critica que, com insistência, notava na preparação seguida pelos Bailados Verde Gaio métodos demasiado 'sui generis'" (Lage, Letter to Secretário Nacional da Informação 1). Leaving behind his original idea of creating a theatrical folklore ballet, on December 18, 1950, Francis wrote to Ferro celebrating every step the troupe took towards a more classic ballet: "o grupo faz progressos, as bailarinas já estão a fazer muita vira nas pontas, e espero que faremos um brilharete nas operas, que já comecei a ensaiar. A Francesa [Quenolle] que é realmente muito util na parte técnica, quer mais dinheiro, porque claro foi tomando fe, foi sabendo o que ganhavam os outros e o que estava combinado era pouco. Vamos a ver se se pode dar-lhe o que pediu porque vale a pena" (1). And he continued in another correspondence the same year praising the developments with the *on point* technique: "O grupo faz progressos no classico e 'nos pontos'. . . . Eu próprio estou com muito estilo clássico" (2).

By October 10, 1950, Verde Gaio had perfected its training process and the hiring system, according to an article from the American magazine *Dance*: "Aspirants to the company

ou efeitos na publicidade ou no conhecimento exterior" although the same letter contradicts this adamant premise by adding that the Secretariat is going to assess the possibility of including temporary dancers (Lage, Letter to Francis Graça 2).

enter the school for novices, where they train for about six months. After this period, if they are considered suitable by a board of judges, and if there are vacancies in the company, they are accepted as 'beginners' at a salary of about thirty-three dollars (American value) a month, rising with promotion, from year to year, to about sixty-six dollars a month to the top dancers in the corps de ballet" (Gario 25). In 1958, Verde Gaio was in extreme need of hiring dancers to guarantee its existence. A letter sent by the Secretariat to the Teatro Nacional de S. Carlos— which the SNI expected to assume the economic burden of hiring new dancers— shows how their campaign to attract local dancers to the company ended up being a fiasco, getting only one new dancer for the troupe. As a result, the SNI hoped to hire dancers from abroad, particularly from France (Da Costa, Letter to Director do Teatro Nacional do S. Carlos 1). Paris, the cradle of the modernist movement, still worked as a thermometer to measure aesthetic distance in relation to the ballet canon. As Pascale Casanova has interpreted in relation to the literary field: "The aesthetic distance of a work or corpus of works from the center may thus be measured by their temporal remove from the canons that, at the precise moment of estimation, define the literary present" (88). Thus, Portugal was still far –aesthetically—from the balletic works produced in other parts of the world, and since the turn of the century, Paris had been a reference for cosmopolitan intellectuals in search of inspiration and ideas.

This attraction for what Casanova would call "central banks" (23) of aesthetic creation has its counterpart, as SNI's officials did not hide their contempt towards common people. The Verde Gaio was meant to be for the elite, and so the Secretariat did not want it to become intermingled with the popular classes. It is likely no coincidence that Francisco Lage, head of the ethnographic department at SNI and scripter of the ballet *O Homem do Cravo na Boca*,[27] refused

[27] Fernanda de Castro considered Francisco Lage, "a pessoa que, nessa altura [during Second World War], mas entendia em Portugal de folclore e de artesanato" (29).

the invitation to perform in Manteigas town on Verde Gaio's behalf, under the guise of the space inadequacy: "Quanto ao grupo de Bailados Verde Gaio, bastará que eu diga a V. Exª que a grande maioria dos Teatros do País e até alguns de Lisboa não têm as condições de apetrechamento necessárias para a sua exibição" (Letter to Artur Alves Costa Pina).[28] The note also reveals a centralizing mindset, placing Lisbon at the kernel of Portuguese modernity and transforming elsewhere into a peripheral space sunk into backwardness. At the same time, Verde Gaio did not hesitate to use traditional dances taken from rural communities—which were often alive and organized in *ranchos*, yet they denied those very same people the chance to see those performances on stage.

As I have already explored in Chapter 1, Iberian fascist regimes relegated popular classes to mere extras on national portraitures while taking from them their craftsmanship and vernacular productions to transform them into something different devoid of its organic meaning and societal purpose. Didi-Huberman, when reflecting upon the portrait—either in the Humanist tradition or present-day celebrities' images in popular magazines—suggests that it is addressed to people to hold them spellbound by means of a representation to which they have no right as proper subjects (55). In Portugal, popular rural classes did not have access to Verde Gaio performance, even though the troupe's choreographies included steps from *viras* and *fandangos*, inspired by dances with use-value in their communities. At the same time, their *ranchos* were set aside from the state apparatus to represent the Estado Novo abroad.

Under António Ferro the SPN/SNI promoted the *Política do Espírito* as a way to unite the country under a single morality aligned with Estado Novo's conservative authoritarianism.

[28] Lage's lack of sympathy for people in need is also evident when the relative of a sixteen-year-old Teatro San Carlos' dancer reported to Ferro that he had threatened her to cut her wage after she fell ill with tuberculosis (Guerra).

Nevertheless, Ferro envisioned different political programs dependent on social class, creating two distinct policies: one for the elite and another for the common people. In part, these policies were channeled through the *Instituto para a Alta Cultura*, which included myriad cultural activities among which was Verde Gaio. As Maria de São José Côrte Real observes, the core of Estado Novo's conception of cultural politics "was not education for some but propaganda for all" (233). Due to Ferro's belief in a dual culture, the Secretariat promoted *ranchos* to mobilize regional folklore among common people. Since the twentieth century, Portuguese local communities have engaged in "tipicismo" as a way to celebrate visits of "altas individualidades" and another sort of official gatherings (Lopes Filho 79). Consequently, they have created music and dance troupes around the figure of a leader with a sense of what should be representative of local customs. These troupes are called "ranchos," a word which originally referred to bands of rural workers from the same region that moved *en masse* to carry out seasonal agricultural labor. Essentially rancho means foreigner, and these workers danced together to amuse themselves on the job (79). According to Kimberly Da Costa Holton, the *ranchos* were a small piece in the larger plan of folkloric revivalism of the regime, so their participation in events such as the celebration of *A Aldeia Mais Portuguesa de Portugal* contest illustrates how "*ranchos folclóricos* were part and parcel of a multifaceted *complex* of folkloric activities that followed, in its contest incarnations, the living history model of revivalism" (34).

However, even though *ranchos*' original *raison-d'être* was to wander from a field to another, this ontological reality was censored by the Secretariat, which often felt uncomfortable before the possibility of the *ranchos* travelling to represent the country somewhere else. In particular, the SNI considered Beira Litoral region controversial when being representative of Portugal abroad due to the perceived poor quality of their clothing, as shown by internal

correpondence in 1957: "Este Secretariado, sempre que solicitado, põe habitualmente todas as reservas à deslocação ao estrangeiro de grupos folclóricos da Beira Litoral, pobre de trajo, e onde a imaginação não tem sido refreada na maneira como os ranchos se vestem" (Bração).

Francisco Lage also advised against the Rancho do Douro Litoral's potential visit to Dublin to represent Portuguese folklore at "The Irish Folk Dance and Song Society." His position was based on the words of the Director of Casa de Portugal in London, who, based on the Rancho's previous experience abroad—as they partook in the Llangollen International Musical Eisteddfod Festival, in Wales—despised the image of poor Portuguese peasants lazing around international capital cities:

> O grupo do Douro Litoral que acidentalmente vi na estação de caminho de ferro de Paddington (Londres), esperando ligação para Llangollen, apresentava um aspecto deplorável. Os homens desgrenhados e de barba por fazer, com 'fato macaco' da ganga sujos e remendados e bones de palha 'à Jockey', e as raparigas também de aspecto porco, com os cabelos meio oxigenados e muito mal vestidas, mais pareciam ter sido todos arrancados de um poeirento deserto. Na sua maioria sentados no chão da gare, rodeados de garrafões velhos, tintos de vinho, e de outros embrulhos sujos e sem graça, os componentes do grupo ofereciam um aspecto verdadeiramente vergonhoso.
>
> Desconheço como andaram vestidos durante a semana do festival, mas o que posso afirmar é que, tal como eu os vi em Londres, o seu aspecto só poderia causar comentários pouco favoráveis para o nosso país (qtd. in Lage, Letter to Presidente da Junta de Províncias do Douro Litoral 2-3).[29]

[29] Ironically, the Rancho of Douro Litoral had achieved great success ("grande êxito") at Llangonllen based on another letter sent by the SNI to the Presidente da Junta de Província do Douro Litoral, on 6 February 1956.

In discussing this same letter, Vera Marques Alves argues that there was a similar trend among the aristocracy during the sixteenth and the seventeenth century when they were thrilled about folk traditions while genuinely despising rural forms of living. Similarly, the SNI envisioned a rural landscape without peasants. More than once, Lage rejected the possibility that the poor living conditions of the peasant could come to light through their exposure (Alves). In truth, the so-called myth of the "aurea mediocritas" or the honorable pauperism favored by the Estado Novo (Rosas, "O salazarismo e o homem novo" 1035) was confined to a postcard image and never materially related the flesh-and-bone *vulgus*.

A similar criticism suffered the Rancho de Águeda when it performed in representation of the Estado Novo in the "Semana de Tânger." The consulate sent shattering comments about the event to the Secretariat. Criticism centered on the Rancho being like a revue, and its lack of taste. As described, performers dressed "à maneira das revistas baratas do [teatro] Maria Victória e, com marcações de danças idênticas, exibindo fracos exemplares da raça, músicas duns tais Joco Lé e Soares da Costa, e tudo de mau gosto, desde o título do grupo, 'Tricanas da Rua d'Além,' até aos bilhetes postais que os seus componentes vieram vender à assistência durante o intervalo" (Director Geral do Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros 1). Some *ranchos*, like Rendilheiras de Praça from Vila do Conde, whose creations were deemed "fantasia de autores e ensaiadores locais," were seen as "tolerável" when dancing in their hometown, but undeserving of resepresenting the nation abroad (Lage, Letter to Chefe da Delegação do Secretariado Nacional da Informação 1). As in the case of Coros y Danzas, *ranchos* were deemed authentic based on unobjectifiable assessment tools, including the bourgeois *bon ton*. Authenticity, then, had to be authorized by the SNI cabinet.

Only *ranchos* with a long tradition were entitled to economic aid provided by the SPN/SNI to travel outside the country. In 1954, Francisco Lage explained this policy to the Rancho de Mirandela in the following manner: "Os grupos ou ranchos criados pela exclusiva boa vontade de algumas pessoas, mas sem tradição, aos quais é preciso dotar de tudo desde a indumentária até ao repertório de canto, música e danças, podem representar uma legítima aspiração local, mas o seu valor representativo, dentro do folclore português, só o tempo e as provas poderão justificar a sua existência" (Letter to Eduardo do Nascimento).

Ranchos in general were not allowed to exist unless they were of profit for the regime. On this account, only the SNI could organize official *rancho* trips representing Portuguese folklore. Often, newly-created *ranchos* were treated as incompetent and dependent on the Secretariat's authorization for every action taken: "não deverá a direcção dos grupos entrar em contacto com as respectivas entidades organizadoras ou tomar quaisquer decisões sem o competente parecer do SNI" (Da Costa, Letter to Director do Grupo Caras Direitas 1). The subaltern, then, had to apply for permission to speak.[30]

Similar to what occurred in Spain with Sección Femenina and their relationship to Coros y Danzas, the SNI worked as a sort of police department of folklore. While, in the Spanish case, Sección Femenina had constructed authority based on a gendered vision of folklore that stated women as vessels of vernacular culture, the SNI established its authority on a sense of aesthetic superiority, unattainable by the popular classes. Thus, in Antonio Ferro's inaugural speech on

[30] It was also the case that when some *ranchos* interpreted other *ranchos*' folkloric pieces the Secretariat tried to stop them, warning the FNAT (Fundação Nacional para a Alegria no Trabalho) to forbid the mixture of folklore from different regions. They considered this behavior "vergonhoso." In addition, imitators were sometimes better known than the *ranchos* that had originally recuperated traditional local songs and dances, causing prejudices towards the latter. In consequence, the SNI solicited the termination of those practices "para ben do folclore português" and wanted those activities to be severely punished "como acontece a que practica uma violação, um assalto a pessoa indefensa, ou uma falsificação de documentos, pois, o que se vem verificando é assombroso e espantoso" (Coelho).

Verde Gaio's 1940 debut, he resoundingly drew the line between *ranchos* and the incipient ballet company:

> Tinha-se receio—e compreendo esse temor—que a expressão 'Verde Gaio' fosse deturpada que desclassificasse imediatamente a nossa tentativa que poderia ser confundida com certos ranchos folclóricos que são, muitas vezes, o maior inimigo do folclore. Compreendemos o perigo mas resolvemos corajosamente afrontá-lo. Isolem a expressão 'Verde-Gaio' de todas as sugestões de folclore barato e digam-me se podem existir duas palavras mais harmoniosas e mais visuais 'Verde-Gaio'! E é toda a paisagem portuguesa que se abre, como um leque, diante dos nossos olhos . . . . Nada de confussões portanto. Este nosso primeiro grupo de bailados não se chama 'Verde-Gaio' para limitar a sua acção a uma simples e já banal estilização (palavra detestável) de bailados regionais, mas apenas para ter um bonito nome português. ("A presentação" 1)

Notwithstanding the red line traced by the Secretariat to distinguish art from spectacle, in real terms the imaginary border between high and low culture was more porous. Hence, with the emergence of "tipicismo" during the 1950s, some of Verde Gaio's dancers performed in the restaurant *O Folclore*, "bem longe já do seu apogeu artístico e do seu ambicioso programa estético do início dos anos 40" (Nery 229).

Fado was also in the spotlight because of the Secretariat's classist conception of this music genre. Lage defines fado as "apenas uma expressão do bas-fond de uma grande cidade de população heterogénea, um produto de taberna e de lupanar, de vício e de miséria" (Letter to Luciana Stegagno Picchio 1). To Lage, fado was a "moda imposta por origens deletérias" and so could not be part of Portuguese folklore except in specified "foros de canção representativa" (1). Fado was rejected because of its lack of "decency" and its being overtly attributed to lower

classes. In the letter, Lage makes reference to Alberto Pimentel's book *A triste canção do sul: subsídios para a história do fado* (1904) to reinforce his idea of fado as a national disgrace. There, Pimentel observes that "o *Fado,* apesar da dupla aristocratização que tem recebido dos poetas e das salas, denuncia a sua origem popular, a alma do povo que o canta. É nas ruas, nas tabernas e nos bordeis que o *Fado* parece nascer, espontaneamente, como nascem certas flores nos charcos" (24).[31] Often, the boroughs of downfall wherein fado grew as a wild fern were Alfama and Bairro Alto, located in Lisbon. Julio de Castilho, quoted in the book, considered the fadista from Bairro Alto "o *marialva* do rés do chão da sociedade, escória das tendências elegantes de uma cidade grande, produto bastardo da galeria das causas crimes; e muita vez o pobre Othello obscuro da parte de polícia" (qtd. in 56).

One of the most common stories of fado's lyrics is the *fadista*'s infatuation for a prostitute. Linked to prostitution and explicit descriptions of a degenerate life as well as its strong connection to lower classes and even to the incipient organized proletariat of the turn of the century, fado was considered problematic as representative of the Lusitane race. Here I assume that the strong morality imposed by Salazar and, then, Marcelo Caetano's regime mingled with notions of taste, relegating fado to the urban lower classes and to sinful ways of life that by no means should be entitled to represent the Estado Novo's new men and women. But, as mentioned earlier, SNI's policy towards fado changed in the 1950s. According to Rui Vieira Nery, there was

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[31] Alberto Pimentel also casted the *fadista* as a degenerate,

> não tem família, é engeitado [sic] da Santa Casa, para assim ir ao encontro da predestinação, do mau fado, que vem do berço, e com que o fadista pretende desculpar toda a sua existência de vicio e torpeza.
>
> Mas há muitos que teem família, paes conhecidos, e que são levados à fadistagem por uma espontânea tendência de baixos instinctos, pela companhia e convivência de *faias*, pela desmoralização do Limoeiro onde foram uma primeira vez expiar qualquer rapaziada leve; ou ainda pela suggestão [sic] nociva do bairro em que nasceram e moran. (50)

> uma colagem estratégica das autoridades salazaristas a um género cuja popularidade atingiu manifestamente o auge e cujos conteúdos poéticos tradicionais, após um quarto de século de condicionamento censório, se revelam de uma utilidade política da maior conveniência. Tal como se procurará colar, no plano internacional à imagem de prestígio crescente da carreira de Amália Rodrigues, também no plano interno o regime multiplicará e apadrinhará agora as oportunidades de exposição pública do Fado, assegurando-lhe uma presença relevante nos "Serões para Trabalhadores" da FNAT, nas festas de impacte popular promovidas ou apoiadas pelo SNI e pelas autarquias, na Rádio e na Televisão estatais, na cinematografia oficiosa. (240)

The fact that fado dismayed the SNI as a source of base instincts was in line with Estado Novo's censorship of lyrics with sexual connotations. This rejection to explicit reference to sex and deviant behaviors as part of the Estado Novo Catholic politics, also explains why António Ferro so blatantly refused to connote the Verde Gaio as a folklore troupe, his efforts to remove its dancers from the "casas típicas" of fado performances, and his inclination toward ballet.

In this regard, the fact that the very lyrics of traditional square dance and song Verde Gaio, from the region of the Beiras bear sexual motives and veiled allusions to genitalia posed a danger to the closeted queerness of the Bailados. The regional newspaper *Diário de Coimbra* published a reference to the Bailados Verde Gaio's premier in the 1940s, arguing that the Ballet should perform in the region, as the Beiras is traditional Verde Gaio's birthplace. As a proof, the newspaper includes a stanza from traditional Verde Gaio that evidences its sexual undertone (P. da Silva):

A cobra pelo penedo

Corre que desaparece:

Quem dá confiança a homens

Grande castigo merece.

The clear allusion to a phallus-*cobra* (snake) slithering until its disappearance—assumably inside a hole—reveals popular taste for representations of sexual intercourse. The lyrics also include a moral—as often in traditional tales—warning against men's untrustworthiness: whoever dares to place confidence on men deserves punishment ("grande castigo merece"). This moral might also be interpreted as a vulgar warning for young ladies against men's seduction. In this context, a refined sense of sexuality and gender-bending exposed by Verde Gaio depurates, in a way, more straightforward notions of sexuality present in folk songs.

As shown in Brett's ideas about musicality and deviance, SPN/SNI allows the company a certain queerness, through Francis's dances: "any kind of social deviance and ambiguity so long as it is not named, is not published, and does not make claims against the behavioral norm" (19). The fact that traditional Verde Gaio itself contains sexually expressive lyrics might have spurred the Estado Novo's propaganda agents to erase what would be considered more coarse forms of sexual desire from the label of Portuguese folklore. Thus, the Bailados Portugueses Verde Gaio, as a fine national representative, refashioned the sexual traces of vernacular traditions through a soft version of modernists' queer imaginary that did not compromise the demure image imposed by the fascist regime.

2.3 *Nazaré*: Deifying Verde Gaio's Icon of Fokloric Ballet

In 1962, the greatest filmmaker of Salazarism, António Lopes Ribeiro, filmed Verde Gaio's ballet piece *Nazaré*, with choreography by Francis Graça, music by Frederico de Freitas, and stage design by José Barbosa. Before becoming a ballet piece, *Nazaré* has had its momentum

on the revue stage. Additionally, the town of Nazaré and its fishermen had been the objects of the camera's gaze on several occasions. In 1923, Virgínia de Castro e Almeida produced and wrote the silent film *Os olhos da alma*, shooting Nazaré town for the first time.[32] After the Revolução de 28 de Maio, in 1929, Leitão de Barros produced *Nazaré, praia de pescadores e zona de turismo,* a silent documentary of touristic and ethnographic pretensions of which only the first part is preserved (accessible on Youtube). The same director filmed the silent movie *Maria do Mar* only a year later with script by Leitão de Barros and António Lopes Ribeiro. And shortly after, in 1935, the SPN ordered the production of a newsreel on Nazaré titled *A praia da Nazaré,* on the occasion of foreign writers visiting the town. There is even another film production titled *Nazaré,* directed by Manuel Guimarães and released in 1952. This movie, also focused on Nazaré's seafront, tells the story of two fisherman brothers, António (played by Virgílio Teixeira) and Manuel Manata (Artur Semedo), whose fates are determined by the ocean's will. The film reflects upon the dialectic that sailors face as they have to risk their lives on the sea to make a living inland.

Nazaré is a dangerous place for fishing, because it lacks a harbor to protect ships and boats during a storm or rough seas (Mendonsa 313). Ten years after Guimarães's movie, Lopes Ribeiro was in charge of capturing Verde Gaio's *Nazaré* on celluloid. The film lacks any artistic aspiration and works rather as memorabilia of Verde Gaio's outputs, since the company had not been previously recorded apart from brief shots in official newsreels, as *Imagens de Portugal.*

In this section, I argue that the choice of *Nazaré* as a piece to be preserved through filming accounts for its status as Verde Gaio's icon. The piece constituted Francis's victory over Ivo Cramér when both were competing for Verde Gaio's leadership, since it premiered as the

[32] I would like to thank Anna Klobucka for bringing this film, and Leitão de Barro's *Maria do Mar* (1930) to my attention.

audience's favorite: "o Verde Gaio reapareceu em São Carlos, em 1948, com dois programas muito diferentes, o primeiro, a cargo de Francis, o segundo, a cargo de Ivo Cramér, facto que deve ter causado no público uma certa confusão. No entanto, *Nazaré* foi, sem dúvida, o bailado de maior sucesso" (P. dos Santos 72). *Nazaré* recovers the original *raison-d'être* of the ballet company as a project of aestheticizing and dramatizing vernacular productions of Portuguese music and dance, against both more classic and avant-gardist versions of the troupe. Motifs as well as costumes are taken from so-called popular heritage.

Additionally, as in other Francis Graça's choreographies, a sophisticated transgression of gender representation is on display. Francis's sublimation of sexuality, inherited from queer modernity, was, as I showed in the previous sections, convenient for the Estado Novo when purging the more explicit sexual content that appeared in vernacular productions. This ballet performance stages a case of homosocial desire, in which Maria Loura (Ruth Walden) becomes mediator of a homosocial relationship between Francisco Inácio (Francis Graça) and O Faneca (José de Azevedo), to use Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's theorization of the love triangle.[33] Finally, *Nazaré* brings together Ferro's *Política do Espírito* and the cultural policy of the "tres efes." In other words, it joins the idea of encapsulating Portuguese essence in vernacular production regardless of economic difficulties that affected common people's social conditions on the one hand, and the new approach to tourism and *tipicismo* as a decoy for visitors by choosing Nazaré as setting and shipwreck as topos, on the other hand. Lopes Ribeiro's *Nazaré* (17 min) is kept in the Cinemateca Portuguesa as part of Verde Gaio's documentation. The film was produced by Cinelândia, one of the country's most important film producers, yet I did not find information

[33] Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick considers love triangles in which rivalry and love are on display to be "a sensitive register precisely for delineating relationships of power and meaning, and making graphically intelligible the play of desire and identification by which individuals negotiate with their societies for empowerment" (27).

about its distribution in Portuguese theaters or even abroad. *Nazaré* is supposed to show an excerpt of the ballet piece, although the plot coincides in great detail with the preserved programs of Verde Gaio's *bailado*. António Lopes Ribeiro was in charge of *Jornal Português: Revista Mensal de Actualidades*, broadcast between 1938 and 1951. *Jornal Português* was SPN/SNI's propaganda newsreel aimed at disseminating the *Política do Espírito*. Lopes Ribeiro managed to gather together tradition and modernity by bringing forth the idea of national rebirth based on history and folklore through modern technologies and strategies (Lisboa 283). This is again a proof of fascism as "reactionary modernism" (see Introduction). He became the "[c]ineasta official do Salazarismo" after directing *A Revolução de Maio* (1937) with script by António Ferro and himself. The movie commemorates the rise to power of the Military Dictatorship in May 1926. Lopes Ribeiro was also the chief of Produções Lopes Ribeiro, and responsible for the elaboration of Leitão de Barros's *Camões* (1946), an ambitious project to bring to the screen the most important man of letters of the Lusophony.

In Lopes Ribeiro's correspondence with António Ferro, he urged the Secretariat to export Portuguese movies to the United Kingdom, as British film policies included raising taxes on American films giving Europeans free rein on their own movies. Particularly, Lopes Ribeiro wanted to exhibit Leitão de Barro's *Ala-Arriba!* (1942) and *Camões* (1946) as well as his own *Amor de Perdição* (1943) in London. In the letter from 1947, he insisted on the need for the SNI to support Portuguese cinema at a moment deemed critical for its survival in the European market:

> É claro que não é possível fazer tudo isto a pensar que a Tobis, a Lisboa Filme e a Cinelândia, tal como agora estão, vão produzir seja o que for que possa passar decentemente em Inglaterra. . . . Ferro: se não se deita mão aquilo já, adeus Cinema

> Português! De que serviu eu arruinarme [sic] com o "Camões"? Para nunca mais sairmos da escala folclórica e pelintra? Para continuarmos a não saber distinguir a cultura da festança? (A. L. Ribeiro 5-6).

This letter should be understood against the backdrop of a shift occurring in Portuguese cinema. In the postwar Estado Novo, the regime moved from intellectual films and great productions such as *Camões* or the Hispano-Luso production *Inês de Castro* (1944) to everyday stories through the trident topoi *Fado, Futebol e Fátima*. Jorge Leitão Ramos calls this "Salazarismo vulgar" (400). After purging intellectuals organic to fascist aesthetics, such as António Ferro himself, the Estado Novo sought a new generation of directors ready to promote a cinema to the people's taste. Ferro had already been very critical of the "comédia protuguesa," a genre very close to Mussolini's *cinema dei telefoni bianchi* (387-388). During his time as chief of SPN/SNI he also wanted to improve the so-called folkloric or regional cinema: "Algumas podem considerer-se boas ou razoáveis produções. Na maioria, porém, os bailaricos, as cantigas (o seu fado à mistura) são nitidamente metidos a martelo. Não desdenhamos este género de filmes (não receamos as *portuguesadas*, já o dissemos, como os espanhóis temem as *espanholadas*) mas só quando o regionalismo ou o folclore não se tornem forçados, portanto artificiais" (*Teatro e Cinema* 63). Even though Ferro and the first Estado Novo filmmakers aimed to create their own film aesthetics, toying with neo-realism, the truth is that escapist cinema and, above all, fado in the cinema ended up being dominant over Portuguese screens. This leads to the conclusion that António Lopes Ribeiro's production for Verde Gaio has more to do with his propaganda work at the *Jornal Português* than with his artistic productions.

Lopes Ribeiro's *Nazaré* combines static frames of Nazaré's seafront with its crafted boats and scenes from the *bailado* itself. Its debut year—1962—may not coincide with its filming as

Francis had left the company in 1957 to pursue a career as a ballet teacher in Porto ("Francis Graça: Professor de Ballet do Parnaso"). Since 1960 the troupe had been in the hands of Fernando Lima and Margarida de Abreu, a ballet teacher at the Conservatório Nacional de Lisboa who in turn had created in 1944 the Círculo de Iniciação Coreográfica (Sasportes, *História* 291-292).[34] There is still another reason to believe that the piece was shot earlier than 1962. In the film, famous dancer Isabel Santa Rosa figures as part of the corps de ballet playing a "mulher da Nazaré," whereas by 1962 she had already risen through the ranks of Verde Gaio to replace Ruth Walden as principal.[35]

Image 11. Francis Graça and Brazilian dancer Madelaine Rosay in Nazarean costumes, 1947. Courtesy of Museu Nacional do Teatro e da Dança.

[34] Margarida de Abreu was cognizant of the Dalcrozian techniques as she had studied in Viena in the Institut Jaques-Dalcroze in 1934. She had also explore the *Ausdrukstanz* movement in Germany while studying in the Deutsche Tanz Schule with Kurt Jooss between 1937 and 1938 (see Laginha).

[35] See Laginha, "Estrela da dança portuguesa" for na account on Isabel Santa Rosa's career.

Parts of the *Nazaré* ballet had been initially created for the revue theater by Francis Graça. *Gente do Mar*—the first act—was part of *Mexilhão* in which Ruth Walden and Francis first danced together (P. dos Santos 23). But there was another dance featured in the couple's *tournée* accompanying António Ferro and Fernanda de Castro on a diplomatic mission in Europe, which included the act *Nazaré*. They performed this piece in Geneve with music by Frederico de Freitas and inspired by the "canção do Tónio" (30), another excerpt of the future ballet. In 1947, during his tour in Brazil, Francis danced some of *Nazaré*'s sketches with famous dancer Madelaine Rosay, performing already with local costumes (see Image 11).

With significant changes from earlier versions, the *bailado* piece *Nazaré* featured two acts. The first one, already-mentioned "Gente do Mar," set the scene for the marine tragedy that takes place in the second act, "Drama." The Orquestra Sinfónica Nacional conducted by Silva Pereira plays Frederico de Freitas's music, which mirrors the plot's mood, mimicking the horrible fate of Nazaré's fishermen in minor keys. As per Victor Pavão dos Santos, who has done extensive research on the Bailados Portugueses, Verde Gaio's *Nazaré* is "um dos seus bailados mais conseguidos":

> Este bailado, sobre as vidas dos pescadores, o mar e as suas tormentas, e que desde há muito deveria constar dos projectos de Francis, até como um desenvolvimento de outro, com o mesmo tema, de que já se falou, e fazia parte do seu reportório, quando dançava apenas com Ruth. E assim, Francis escreveu um argumento muito detalhado, para o qual Frederico de Freitas compôs uma das suas partituras baléticas mais inspiradas e de maior fôlego, suficientemente alegre e dramática para permitir a Francis inventar uma coreografia em dois tempos: *Gente do Mar* e, depois, *Drama.* Como parecia lógico, José Barbosa foi chamado para desenhar cenários e figurinos, criando os necessários

> ambientes, o primeiro muito colorido e o segundo sombrio e doloroso, imaginando figurinos de grande originalidade, dentro de uma certa estilização folclórica, em que bocados de tule aplicados aos trajos femininos sugerem a presença do mar, nos trajos molhados. (71-72)[36]

At the beginning of the film, captions are superimposed onto images of Nazaré's beach that soon give room to a stage decorated with the same seafront and the houses in the background. The captions have not yet disappeared when dancers intrude into the scenery wearing Nazaré's traditional clothing. Dancers perform everyday tasks in a scene of *tipicismos*. Men wear typical checkered shirts and trousers with a black cap. Women pretend to sew marine thread that men would reef for fishing. Continuing with their tasks, women carry fish baskets on their heads and pass through doing pirouettes. Miming is a conspicuous part of Verde Gaio's dance, to enable the audience to quickly identify daily fishing activities, presented as one more resource of Portuguese national folklore.

The ballet tells three stories with no direct relationship to each other. The first is the love triangle between Gertrudes (Helena Miranda), Luzia (Dídia Maria), and Zé (unknown dancer). Gertrudes tries to seduce Zé, and challenges his wife Luzia in front of other women who all repudiate Gertrudes. The latter lifts her skirt as a sign of impertinence in front of the outraged women. Eventually, Gertrude and Luzia get into a fight, while Zé tries to protect Gertrudes from the peevish town women. This first story ends here and is followed by the romance between Maria Loura and O Faneca. The couple is about to get married, although Francisco Inácio, performed by Francis Graça, secretly loves her. His character is easy to differentiate from the rest since he appears dressed in black as a sign of mourning for the love never consummated,

[36] Later on, *Nazaré*'s set designer was replaced by Eduardo Anahory, who in turn was well known in Paris. In he designed sceneries for French actor, and film and theater director Louis Jouvet.

instead of the Nazarean fishermen's typical checkered shirt. As evidence of his love for María Loura, Francisco Inácio writes her name on the sand. This image of María Loura's name on the sand is later projected on a filmed beach, where the sea erases Maria's name, as Lopes Ribeiro plays with cinematic effects to provide the ballet with ethnographic hints. Finally, the last scene tells the story of Maria Cândida (Maria Clara) and fisherman Toino (Fernando Rodrigues), while keeping track on María Loura's story, against the backdrop of the rough sea. Women pray for the fishermen, who advance relentlessly towards the ocean to do their jobs. The women form a boat with their bodies, from which sailors cast their nets into the sea.

In the second act, "Drama," there is new scenery on stage. Now there are cliffs from which to watch the sea, most likely representing the cliff "O Bico do Milagre." Francisco Inácio chases Maria Loura and O Faneca starts a fight with him. Maria Loura tries to get help to stop the quarrel, but instead, she realizes that there is a shipwreck, and both men go to the sea to help out the sailors. Women with mourning clothes dance around a torch; the lights are dim and the music dismal. The scene ends tragically with three women crying out about their fate. Francisco Inácio carries O Faneca's dead body, resembling Christ's corpse covered with sailor nets, while everybody in town is mourning.

The folk aesthetic embroiling the theatrical dance constitutes the company's return to its original purpose of being a folklore troupe. *Nazaré*'s bias towards Portuguese tradition appears irrefutable: costumes are clearly inspired by town clothing to incarnate local dwellers in fiction, and the ocean even permeates women's skirts as they look like wet, breaking the frontier between land and sea. Moreover, the aquatic theme was part of the Estado Novo propaganda, and

present in other Verde Gaio early compositions, such as the ballet suit *Imagens da Terra e do Mar* and the historical production *D. Sebastião.*[37]

SPN's first internationally acclaimed film production, José Leitão de Barros's *Ala-Arriba!* (awarded the *Biennale cup* in 1942), also explores the shipwreck topos. *Ala-Arriba!* was Leitão de Barros's second ethnofiction movie after silent drama *Maria do Mar* (1930). Leitão de Barros drew upon amateur actors from the area ("amadores nortenhos") to give a more vivid and realist impression of the traditions of a sailor town, Póvoa de Varzim. As in *Nazaré*, the scriptwriter Alfredo Cortez uses a love triangle to build the plot. In this case, Jõao Moço (Domingos Gonçalves), a *sardinheiro* from the popular classes, and Julha (Elsa Bela-Flor), a *lanchão*'s daughter from the higher class, are in love and about to get married, but during the probation period, Jõao chats with a Gypsy lady, and a jealous sailor of Julha's same social class tells the whole community. Julha's family cancels the marriage, despite her hope to recover Jõao. However, there is a storm and a shipwreck, and Jõao bravely saves some sailors from dying in the sea. This action expiates his sins, and he is forgiven by the community and newly allowed to marry Julha. The similarities between *Nazaré*'s sketches and *Ala-Arriba!* are obvious. Due to the latter's popularity, it might be safe to assume that Francis had its story in mind when creating the choreography for *Nazaré.*

At the time of the film's release, critic Roberto Nobre reflected in the magazine *Seara Nova* upon the dichotomy between truth and art raised by Leitão de Barro's cinematic production, suggesting that *Ala-Arriba!*, rather than a work of art, it is a museum piece.[38] Thus, the film "integrando-se na etnografia, no curioso documento humano, limita-se, por isso mesmo,

[37] For Roubaud, the aquatic element present in Verde Gaio's choreographies is connected to tragic events and nostalgic feelings, as opposed to the terrestrial element, positively linked to an exultant symbolism of preservation and rural values ("O Verde Gaio").
[38] *Seara Nova* was among the few permitted magazines that opposed the Estado Novo regime.

na função de obra de arte. Tem qualquer cousa de museu, de rigidez, hirta, catalogada" (205). Something similar could be argued in Verde Gaio's ballet piece since often, the folkloric ornament surpasses body language and even the whole choreography. Yet, depending on the audience, folklore was at once main allied and enemy of the art apparatuses under the Estado Novo. In *Seara Nova*, Nobre points out the inclusion of *bailados* in the film as problematic, since they "traem ainda um demasiado sabor a grupo folclórico para exibir na cidade" (206). Again, conflict between rural and urban spaces organized the cultural policies of Salazar and Caetano regime.

In spite of Verde Gaio's classic balletic vocation, *Nazaré* fits perfectly into the folkloric categories that had graced the Secretariat's propaganda in its early years. The ballet is primarily based on mimicry, nobody dances *on point*, and folkloric themes go beyond dance to evoke local worships and chores. Indeed, steps consisted of dancers using fishing gear as mere fetishes, dancing with boats' oars or covering themselves with sailor's nets. Beyond being a set of ornaments to transform ballet dances into ethnographic museum catalogues—as Nobre suggested in *Ala-Arriba!*'s criticism, folklore was also an aesthetic option becoming an explanation for Verde Gaio's lack of balletic training. Thus, on November 2, 1950, Francis complained to *Diario de Lisboa'*s journalist Joaquim Manso about an article published in his newspaper slandering Verde Gaio on the occasion of a company performance put on for British ballet critic Arnold Haskell. There, Francis forcefully defends Verde Gaio's dearth of classic technique as part of their attempt to capture the simplicity of folk dances.

> Eu prefiro a técnica do bailado classico [sic], mas pregunto: Para o bailado inspirado no folclore, que deve ser espontâneo e parecer simples, deve-se mostrar uma técnica cheia de convenções e formulas premeditadamente estabelecidas? É a técnica do bailado classico

> que todos os dias eu e os bailarinos do meu grupo praticamos no studio. Ela está em todos os movimentos que executamos embora não se vejam os campinos e os pescadores da Nazaré executar as mesmas pirouettes ou entre-chats nem as mulheres da Nazaré bailando em pontas sobre as areias da praia, ás mesmas pontas e as mesmas pirouettes que se executam no Lago dos Cisnes ou noutros bailados de expressão inteiramente diferente. (2)

In this context, folklore becomes an expression of simplicity. For Francis folklore is a way of being rather than a way of knowing: "espontâneo," "simples." Hence, by using folk themes, Francis understood that somehow the company had rid itself from the burden of technique. Dance historian José Sasportes considered Verde Gaio's lack of balletic schooling a problem that could hardly be solved through folk appropriation. As a matter of course, he believed that Verde Gaio did not have the reserve team necessary to create a proper ballet:

> Há certos sons que se fossem cheiros ninguém os toleraria, afirmava [Jean] Cocteau, e nós lembraremos agora que se certos movimentos fossem sons e certos bailados sinfonias, ninguém teria ficado na sala para os ouvir-ver!... A menos que as tais trombetas publicitárias encantassem maviosamente os espectadores e se sobrepusessem à tal algazarra dinâmica. Mais comezinhamente, é só lembrar que não se fazem omeletes sem ovos, nem mesmo as omeletes à portuguesa... (*História* 286).

Nazaré's plot also distills the queer aesthetics that Francis had been conferring onto his dance throughout his career. Inherited from Portuguese modernism, particularly through Mario de Sá-Carneiro and Antonio Botto's literature, gender ambiguity was also part of this *bailado.* I argue that the love triangle in *Nazaré* could be a mask to deny Francisco Inácio's homosocial desire for O Faneca, in which Maria Loura is merely a vessel, perfectly replaceable as shown when a sea

wave erases her name from the sand. Eve Kosofsky Sedwick's *Between Men* (1985) explores how heterosexuality can be seen as "the use of women as exchangeable, perhaps symbolic, property for the primary purpose of cementing the bonds of men with men" (25-26). Drawing on this theory, Klobucka and Sabine have paved the way for the study of homosocial desire in the context of Lusophone studies through the *Orpheu* generation. They maintain that a love triangle narrative hides possible dimensions of male homosocial desire while transforming women into mere mediators. Along the lines of these two works, Claudia Pazos-Alonso suggests that Mario de Sá-Carneiro's *A confissão de Lúcio* (1913) is a narrative case of homosexual desire between main characters Ricardo and Lúcio, while Marta holds a "go-between female function" (66-67).[39]

In the *bailado*'s narrative, there are two heterosexual emotional triangles, that of Luzia, Gertrudes and Zé, on the one hand, and O Faneca, Maria Loura and Francisco Inácio, on the other hand. When studying French historian René Girard's work on narrative love triangles, Kosofsky Sedwick questions the possibility of treating this pattern without paying attention to "the power difference that would be introduced by a change in the gender of one of the participants" (23). In this respect, she affirms that there is "a radically disrupted continuum, in our society, between sexual and nonsexual male bonds," which does not affect women in the same way when it comes to homosocial desire. She argues that relations of identification and desire might operate differently according to gender patterns. A boy's masculinity arises in relation to someone of the opposite sex, while a girl's femininity develops in relation to someone of the same sex (25). Relying on this assumption, I propose to focus on the second pattern for the sake of studying homosocial desire in line with the Estado Novo's patriarchal determinism.

[39] For studies on Mario de Sá-Carneiro's sexual sublimation through literature, see Eleanor K. Jones' approach to women's characters in *A confissão de Lúcio* and Israel Pechstein reading of the same novella through the concept of queerness of textures.

On these grounds, the story opens up with Francisco Inácio pitying himself because of his unrequited love for Maria Loura. He is drunk and cries desperately, being the latter a feminine gesture according to traditional gender roles. This sign of vulnerability is, however, followed by chasing Maria Loura across the stage. Before her scream, O Faneca comes and starts a fight with Francisco Inácio. The combat works as an epitome of masculine virility and show of power between two rivals. Moreover, the two duelers deliberately ignore Maria Loura's claim to stop fighting as they become increasingly engaged with each other's dance steps. Their bodies' movements operate like a *pas de deux*, often performed by a male danseur and a female ballerina, showing that "in any erotic rivalry, the bond that links the two rivals is as intense and potent as the bond that links either of the rivals to the beloved" (Kosofsky Sedwick 21). Faced with a shipwreck, something exogenous to the triangle, O Faneca and Francisco Inácio put aside their differences and joined forces to save the sailors adrift. But again, it is the relationship among men that is strengthening in this scenario, as men ought to save other men from drowning. Maria Loura is, here as well, a mediator announcing the shipwreck, but she can do nothing practical to stop the tragedy from happening except to pray. Alongside other women, her role is reduced to safeguarding men's spiritual relationship with God and death by praying, while men focus on the realpolitik of leaping into the sea to help out the sailors on the sinking boat.

It is not by chance that the character's and the dancer's name— "Francisco"—coincide, as playing Francisco Inácio is a sort of sexual sublimation for Francis. The character emerges from the sea with O Faneca in his arms: "Francisco Inácio traz nos braços o corpo do seu rival, que arrancou ao mar." This representation of a damsel-in-distress scenario incarnated by two male bodies ends up with a traditional Hollywood-type scene of romantic heterosexual love. The fact that O Faneca is a dead body allows for an intimacy between the two men impossible in

other circumstances, as it would trespass the permitted boundaries of homosocial relationships. The embrace is accepted precisely because it is disguised as a heroic scene, in which Francisco Inácio risks his life to save other people.

In this circumstance, the notion of the abject emerges as a way for him to repudiate his own self. He wishes to be dead in O Faneca's place since his life is not worth living: "E Francisco pensa que mais valera que Deus o levasse a ele, que não tem noiva nem mãe para o chorar…" In *Bodies that matter* (2011), Judith Butler states: "The abject designates here precisely those 'unlivable' and 'uninhabitable' zones of social life which are nevertheless densely populated by those who do not enjoy the status of the subject, but whose living under the sign of the 'unlivable' is required to circumscribe the domain of the subject" (xiii). Namely, abject non-subjects define the limits of "the subject's domain": that of being someone loved by a heterorsexual lover ("noiva") and mother ("mãe"). Similarly, Lúcio, in Sá-Carneiro's novella, started his confession by asserting that he did not need to be redeemed as Ricardo's assassin because he had no family: "Não tenho família; não preciso que me reabilitem" (11).[40] Both Francisco Inácio and Lúcio see themselves as despicable, abject for their deviation from social rules of sexual desire and family formation. Instead, they conceive of their lives as worthless and underserved, wishing for their dead loved ones to be alive in their place.

Nevertheless, the homoerotic scene between Francisco Inácio and O Faneca is at the same time expurgated by the iconic representation of Christ's descent from the cross embodied by the latter. The very name of the town of Nazaré facilitates the analogy with Christian

[40] Despite Sá-Carneiro's explicit homoerotic language unlike *Nazaré*'s feigned naïveté, the ballet's bodily expression contributed to constructing a subtle queer imagery suitable for the aristocratic taste. In one of *A Confissão de Lúcio*'s later passages, Ricardo addresses Lúcio with the following crudeness: "Dedicavas-me um grande afecto; eu queria vibrar esse teu afecto – isto é: retribuir-to; e era-me impossível!... Só se te beijasse, se te enlaçasse, se te possuísse... Ah! Mas como *possuir* uma criatura do nosso sexo?...." (119).

iconography and topoi. Upon his death, O Faneca is covered with sailor nets that recall Christ's shroud of Turin, while women cry in the same fashion as Magdalena and the Virgin Mary. The fact that captions refer to both women—mother and girlfriend—seems like a gesture towards the biblical legend. This piteous iconography allied with the Estado Novo's imagery counterbalances the homoerotic embrace between O Faneca and Francisco Inácio inherited from queer modernism.

The last element that makes *Nazaré* a suitable piece for film is its potential as a tourist lure. Nazaré is a relatively new town, built in 1874 in the process of merging with the neighboring villages of Sítio and Pederneira. Since the *fin-de-siècle*, Nazaré had become a resort for the wealthy Portuguese elite, soon expanding its fame among other well-to-do Europeans. In 1912, the town already featured two tourist hotels. In the 1950s, Nazaré suffered an influx of mass tourism as postwar Europe gave room to political stability and better economic conditions in the continent's liberal democracies (Mendonsa 313). However, in 1942, when tourism had not yet become a good source of revenue for the national economy, the Secretariat's magazine *Panorama: Revista Portuguesa de Arte e Turismo* published an article by Carlos Queiroz warning against its vices. Queiroz considered tourism a "monstro" that should be tamed in order to avoid losing what is sacred about the Portuguese people: "É preciso evitar, a todo o custo, que éle entre onde não deve e, onde deve entrar, não se exceda. . . . Tem de saber respeitar várias coisas sagradas (a arte, a poesia da vida, a espontaneidade do povo), procurando servi-las, em vez de servir-se delas." To be exact, Queiroz denounced that tourism speculated with the art of fishing since Portugal maintained its artisanal fishing by means of a rich range of equipment and watercraft that ought to be preserved: "Mas que o turismo fique de largo—discreto, humilde, respeitoso. Que não ouse violar a intimidade dessa gente, nem especular com os seus costumes,

nem forçar a sua naturalidade." On this basis, it is no wonder that, unlike other tourist destinations in Southern Europe such as Spain or Greece, which saw their number of visitors rising exponentially in the 1960s, Portugal focused its strategy on "luxury tourism," while at the same time promoting domestic tourism through fascist organizations, e.g., FNAT, in order to control the proletariat's leisure time (Sampaio 202; Pacheco Cadavez 92). In this context, Verde Gaio also turned out to be a suitable attraction for foreign travelers to the country. As Ferro had made clear, it was a project for the elites; therefore, even in 1972, amid the Portuguese colonial wars in Africa (1961-1974), Verde Gaio appeared as an attraction in one of the most iconic late-Estado Novo tourism documentaries: *Lisboa: Jardim da Europa* (1972).[41]

At the same time, the ballet worked as a distinctive element when it came to conferring prestige to Nazaré. In 1935, the town went through a glamourization process as it became the object of the "tourist gaze" of famous international writers, including Maurice Maeterlinck, Gabriela Mistral, or Miguel de Unamuno. As John Urry and Jonas Larsen point out, tourism is particularly prone to shedding light on opaque activities of everyday life that become subject to the tourist gaze (17). In the documentary *A praia de Nazaré*, some impressions of writers about Nazaré operated as a prestige generator: "Não creio que se possa sentir na Europa uma impressão mais viva de desterro do que a que eu tive nesta ardente vila, no meio deste povo bíblico: encontrei-me de repente fora do meu tempo," says François Mauriac. As analyzed in Chapter 1 through the study of the film *Ronda Española*'s premiere, glamour worked as a tool to enchant folklore and make it more fashionable for the elite. Aided by exposure in ballet and writer visitors, Nazaré left behind its poor economic conditions and transformed it into a cosmopolitan

[41] As a side note, the title takes a verse from the poem "A Portugal" by Tomás Ribeiro (1831-1901) included in the book *D. Jaime* (1862): "Jardim da Europa à beira-mar plantado/ de loiros e de acácias olorosas" (4). The poem is an ultra-nationalist and anti-Iberian indictment.

milieu ready to receive distinguished guests who could detach themselves from mundane troubles—and have a taste of a vivid sense of banishment ("impressão mais viva de desterro") while having an experience of Portuguese essence through its folklore.

Nazaré as a tourist brochure and as a documentary confirms critics's worst fears about Verde Gaio. Lopes Graça's critique, published in 1945, questioned *Imagens da terra e do mar* as a title for a ballet piece: "pode ser o título de um álbum turístico, ou de um documentá cinematográfico: nunca poderá ser o título dum bailado" (385). In this reading he coincides with Graça dos Santos, who describes a special feature about Verde Gaio in the select magazine *Panorama* as "um verdadeiro panfleto turístico do *savoir-faire* nacional" (117). No doubt, António Lopes Ribeiro's *Nazaré* in its entirety—not only through the title—is an experiment in both tourism and documentary. Its filming transformed the *bailado* into a tourist brochure and a documentary promoting and distinguishing Nazaré as a place of cosmopolitan recreation for the elite while consolidating the ballet troupe as a national icon of Portuguese artistic repertoire.

As a final observation, Verde Gaio's history is at the epicenter of the Portuguese modernist movement. Not only because its main actors—António Ferro, Francis Graça, Ruy Coelho, Frederico de Freitas, Maria Keil, Paulo Ferreira—had pivotal roles in some of the most important milestones of modernism in the country, but also because the company envisioned itself as a cosmopolitan niche surrounded by a reputedly backward country.

This chapter shows connections between Verde Gaio and the *Orpheu* group and its Futurist sequel led by Almada Negreiros in *Portugal Futurista.* Despite Pessoa and Almada Negeiros distancing themselves from the once-editor of *Orpheu* and Verde Gaio's architect, António Ferro, the impact of the modernist generation on the Lusophone performing and visual arts is undeniable. Moreover, their own influences, such as the Ballets Russes, soaked through

their magazine to penetrate the Portuguese cultural field. However, one might talk about castrated modernism when analyzing Verde Gaio since the company appeared against the backdrop of an ultra-conservative dictatorship that wanted to impose the trident "Deus, Patria, Familia" on everyday Portuguese life. The fact that Verde Gaio was within the domain of the Portuguese—and one might even say Lisbonean—cosmopolitan elite worked in the company's favor as far as freedom of expression is concerned. Thus, Verde Gaio could explore Orientalizing sensuality in their dances such as *Legenda das Amendoeiras*; the topic of adultery in the later piece *Nazaré* through Gertrudes, Luzia and Zé's love triangle; and even homosocial desire in the relationship between Francisco Inácio and O Faneca in the same ballet. Yet all those stories take place under the veil of decency and prudishness, given room only for a timid expression of queer aesthetics in a context of brutal repression of sexual deviants. The body also played a major role in Verde Gaio's conception through Francis's corporeality by conceiving body training as essential to national character-building.

Verde Gaio's role was intended to be one of polishing vernacular music and dances for the sake of recovering Portugal as a spiritual nation. SPN/SNI's internal correspondence throws light on the Estado Novo's disdain towards the common people and how it feverishly blocked the people's possibility to perform freely with their *rancho*'s troupes without the Secretariat exerting control over them. At the same time, people from small Portuguese towns were constantly denied the chance to attend Verde Gaio's performances, often reserved for a selected elite who could see their ballet shows in Lisbonnean theaters or abroad. Verde Gaio was often sent for diplomatic mission to strengthen relationships between Portuguese Estado Novo and other countries.

Nevertheless, folklore from the popular classes, which the State so bluntly disavowed, saved Verde Gaio from a lack of balletic tradition in Portugal. As Francis himself put it, the fact of being inspired in traditional folklore afforded them the possibility to explore techniques other than classical. Francis used folklore as a justification for the dearth of academic methodology. For him, folklore was a synonym of amateurism and simplicity that should be replicated on stage. Rather than exploring choreographic repertoires taken from popular classes, Francis Graça maintained that it was peasants' spontaneity that rendered folklore necessary for the ballet group. This flawed conception of folklore, along with the ambition to reproduce modernist aesthetics, constituted the contradiction that Verde Gaio had to navigate through during its active years. Not surprisingly, Verde Gaio could also play its part in the tourism industry when the regime required so. Titles as *Imagens da terra e do mar* or *Nazaré* could be deployed as tourism lures in a country that needed revenue from abroad. In them, dancers displayed a *tipicismo* easily sellable to visitors by fetishizing common people's everyday resources, such as costumes or work equipment. All those gadgets operated as a mere ornament to present a folklorist—yet glamourized—image of a so-called authentic Portugal in the ballet pieces.

Chapter 3: Negotiating Subalternity: The Ballet Gallego Rey de Viana against Flamenco

"One man's imagined community is another man's political prison."

Arjun Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference," 1990.

"To say that peasants are a class of survivors may seem to confirm
what the cities with their habitual arrogance have
always said about peasants—that they are backward,
a relic of the past. Peasants themselves, however,
do not share the view of time implicit in such a judgement."

John Berger, *Pig Earth*, 1979.

This chapter centers on the Ballet Gallego Rey de Viana (1949-2006), a Galician dance company directed by spouses José Manuel Rey de Viana (1923-1995) and Victoria Canedo (1925-2016). The folk ensemble was representative of Spanish ballet during the *desarrollismo* era under the tutelage of Manuel Fraga Iribarne, at the time Minister of Information and Tourism. The Ballet Gallego belongs to folklore ballet, a genre that became very popular during the Cold War after the success of the Moiseyev Dance Company and the Ballet Folklórico de México. In 1971, the Deputación de A Coruña absorbed the ensemble, previously a private enterprise, transforming it into a public institution. With the advent of the post-Franco era, the Ballet Gallego survived as part of the IGAEM (Instituto Galego das Artes Escénicas e Musicais) beginning in 1991, during Fraga's tenure as president of the Xunta de Galicia.[1] Throughout its history, Rey de Viana's troupe aimed at embellishing Galician folk dance tradition through ballet, ignoring vernacular outputs and the communities that produced them.

[1] When the company became part of the IGAEM it Galicianized its named, becoming the Ballet *Galego.*

Here I argue that José Manuel Rey de Viana expected his ballet to replace flamenco as the most recognizable Spanish dance abroad, so as to bring the Spanish performing arts closer to the cultural centers of power. The choreographer's idea converged with the Spanish intelligentsia's uneasiness with the fact that flamenco dance had long been associated with Gypsies, at least for most of the nineteenth century. The intellectual architect of the "Anti-España," José María Pemán, had strongly advocated for a purification and deracialization of flamenco; and during the 1950s and 1960s several publications tried to distance flamenco from the Gypsies, among them Domingo Manfredi's *Geografía del cante jondo* (1955) and H. Rossy's *Teoría del cante jondo* (1966).[2] In 1953, an internal study of the Ministry of Information and Tourism to promote Spanish tourism stated that since travelers wanted the *españolada*—"toros, baile flamenco cantes gitanos...; Sevilla, Córdoba, Granada"—the Ministry would give up trying to leave behind the genre and its tropes: "Hemos de resignarnos turísticamente a ser un país de pandereta, puesto que el día que perdamos la pandereta habremos perdido el noventa por ciento de nuestros motivos de atracción turística" (qtd. in Holguín 522). Against this backdrop, I investigate how Rey de Viana's ballet engaged in the process of deethnicization (Charnon-Deutsch) or de-Gypsycization (Llano) of Spanish dance by downplaying flamenco.

The troupe's director and a late reactionary modernist, José Manuel Rey de Viana, found a convenient resource in the Galician Celtic theories explored by the nineteenth-century regionalist thinkers of the *Rexurdimento* movement and Galician nationalist intellectuals of the Irmandades da Fala.[3] Such theories affirmed—without definitive scientific evidence—the Celtic

[2] See César Rina Simón (157-161).

[3] After intellectual Antón Villar Ponte convened a meeting on May 18, 1916 in the premises of the *Real Academia Galega*, the first "Hirmandade dos Amigos da Fala" was formed in A Coruña. Many others around Galiza followed the *Irmandade* from A Coruña. Those associations sought to promote the oral and written use of the Galician language and disseminate it among the Galician people; to publish their own newspaper titled *A Nosa Terra*; to pay homage to the graceful figures of Galicianism while cultivating an "enxebre" culture among which folk music was a priority (see Beramendi 431-446). Recently, scholar Aurora Marco has recovered the previously ignored role that

ancestry of the Galician people, as Celts would have inhabited the Galician territory before the arrival of the Roman conquerors. However, this mythical connection to the Celtic community underpinned Galiza as a peripheral other due to the lasting currency of Celtic marginalizing racial connotations as feminine and sentimental. As a result, the Celtic label fostered Galician colonial relationship with Spain by discursively strengthening Galician backwardness. In this regard, I use Pablo González Casanova's term "internal colonialism" ("colonialismo interno"), referring to territories denied self-government and marked by a distinct culture and language from the hegemonic one. In *O atraso económico de Galicia* (1981), Xosé Manuel Beiras applied this political framework to the Galician case and recently other works such as Helena Miguélez-Carballeira's *Galiza, um povo sentimental?* (2013) have fostered theorization on Galician colonial relationship with Spain. The politics of internal colonization pursued by the Francoist Instituto Nacional de Colonización for the rural areas of Spain also reveal that since 1898 and the Cuban War of Independence the Spanish elites had created "um imaginário centrado em reconstruir a grandeza imperial ultramarina . . . através de um programa de reconstrução nacional" (Miguélez Carballeira and Pablo 75). I rely on this previous bibliography to cast the Galician experience from a postcolonial perspective.[4]

When asked about his political affiliation by progressive media in the post-Franco era, Rey de Viana stated: "Eu penso que Galicia é unha nación, dígoo sinceramente, sin politizar a definición. Chamarlle rexional non me ofende, pois Galicia é unha nación e tamén unha rexión

women played within the Irmandades. She pays special attention to the activities carried out by "irmandiñas" Concepción González, Jacinta Landa, Elvira Bao Maceiras, María Miramontes Mato, and Amalia Álvarez Gallego, among many others.

[4] From Daniel Rodríguez Castelao's *Sempre en Galiza* (1944) onwards, the term colonialism has served to describe Galician dependence on Spain and its consequences: i.e., aging demography, rural depopulation, lack of industrial forces, self-hatred, diglossia, lack of autonomous institutions and proletarization of broad social layers. See Francisco Rodríguez and Ramón López Suevos *Problemática Nacional e Colonialismo. O caso galego* (1978). For a historical insight on the topic of internal colonialism, see Alba Díaz-Geada.

de España (?)" (Ledo 7). Rey de Viana and, in turn, his Ballet dragged along this contradictory ontology of Galiza as a political entity. The experience of the subaltern is marked by the lack of institutions for self-representation, says Xoan González Millán (152). Galician *diferencialismo epistémico*—as a theoretical method coined by González Millán—contributes to highlighting Galician sociohistorical experience as marginal. In the case of the Ballet Gallego, its condition as a deficient institution of Galician self-representation aided spreading a distorted image of Galician sociohistorical difference.

In the first section of the chapter, I assert that the Ballet Gallego Rey de Viana utilized the tradition of *cadros de declamación* and *estampas galegas* (later *estampas gallegas*), *costumbrista* performances that included script, dancing, and singing, to accommodate regional aspirations of autonomy within the dictatorial regime. The Coros Galegos, amateur choral associations organic to the Irmandades da Fala, performed *cadros de declamación* in their shows. Most depicted rural Galiza as a backward place while attempting to capture its alleged *volksgeist*. I study the legacy of the Coros' *cadros de declamación* and the tensions generated around them, which reached their peak after the publication of Jesús Bal y Gay's *Hacia el Ballet Gallego,* in 1924.

After the Spanish Civil War, José Manuel Rey de Viana resumed this tradition with his ballet. Following some training in Germany, he joined the *División Azul* and was severely hurt, a fact that jeopardized his career as a dancer. Victoria Canedo, *maître de danse*, had been Instructora General de Juventudes in A Coruña, an organization related to Sección Femenina with strong ties to Coros y Danzas, whose work I have already examined in Chapter 1. Hence, I delve broadly into the relationship between the Ballet Gallego and public institutions, and the extent to which Rey de Viana believed that a process of institutionalization was crucial to the

fructification of his aesthetics and to the ethics of his dance style, always siding with power circles and turning his back on the popular classes from which he purportedly took inspiration.

In the chapter's second part, I explore Ballet Gallego's role as a diplomatic tool of the Francoist state. The Ballet's success across Europe and the Americas coincided with Manuel Fraga Iribarne's term at the Ministry of Information and Tourism. In the international arena, the Moiseyev Dance Company and the Ballet Folklórico de México had become paradigms of this sort of spectacle, shining in cosmopolitan theaters while setting a political agenda. In the Ballet Gallego's case, José Manuel Rey de Viana, as director and *de facto* manager, promoted the narrative that in order to exist Galician culture should be spectacularized, an argument close to the teachings of Galicianist Ramón Piñeiro, as I examine below. The Rey de Viana-Canedo couple wanted to be part of the distinguished elite of ballet companies that participated in the Festivales de España during the 1960s and 1970s, while these fell under Fraga's purview. This institutional recognition contributed to labeling the Ballet Gallego as "universal," and to placing the company on cosmopolitan and global stages. The Ballet Gallego's "universal" condition necessitated its becoming easily recognizable and marketable within an Anglo- and Eurocentric framework. Here I explore how this negotiation took place and the discursive tools fabricated by Rey de Viana to achieve his purpose.

I analyze Ballet Gallego's program in the last section of the chapter. I chose to close-read *Poema da chispa,* a performance filmed in 1997 from a choreography created by José Manuel Rey de Viana as part of his first repertoire, with music by Rodrigo de Santiago, a musicologist and advocate of the Celtic substrate theory that saw Celtic influences in Galician music. The song was part of a Ballet Gallego music album produced by Movieplay in 1970 which included its most popular soundtracks. Photographs from early performances show Rey de Viana as the

principal dancer, performing the role of *afiador* (knife-grinder). However, since I could not access any footage of the period when Rey de Viana performed as principal, I relied on a later version of the show recorded by the Televisión de Galicia—Galicia's public broadcaster—in 1990. From my examination of references to the earlier show in the archive of the Deputación de A Coruña and media outlets, I came to the conclusion that the choreography kept the same steps throughout the years so that there were no significant changes between versions.

Poema da chispa can be read as the epitome of a Galician ontological discourse generated from Spanish centralist spaces. I include the fiction film *La Casa de la Troya* (1924) and the documentary *Galicia y sus gentes* (1951) in a tradition of colonizing narratives that a Hispanophile Galician elite later reappropriated. Both films construct Galician singularity as mere aesthetic ornament and deploy Galician people as plain film extras without significant intervention in the productions meant to portray them. As part of this rhetoric, the Galician matriarchal myth conveys the idea of powerful women sharing work responsibilities with their male partners while maintaining a sense of moral duty. Rey de Viana took on and distorted Galician myths attempting to place Galiza—a subaltern one—in a privileged spot of the Francoist regional picturesque image.

3.1 The *Coros Galegos* and their Spectacular Aftermath under Francoism

What follows is a study of Ballet Gallego's institutionalization process and its aspiration to become part of the Spanish ballet tradition. José Manuel Rey de Viana and his advocates believed that Galiza should be spectacularized and performed on a stage in order to exist. And so, he sought political support to create a Galician professional dance and music school with a semi-professional ballet company ready to represent Spain abroad. In particular, I tackle how

Rey de Viana, through Galician Celtic theories, negotiated Spain's distance from the cultural centers of power.

In this section, I argue that the music tradition inaugurated by the Coros Galegos (Galician Choirs) in the first decades of the twentieth century had its aesthetics continuity in the Ballet Gallego Rey de Viana. Initially, what brought me to this research topic was the steady coincidences between the *cadros de declamación*, as theatrical representations of the Galician people sprinkled with so-called traditional music and instruments, and Rey de Viana's balletic performances. As I went into detail about both of the institutions responsible for these representations of Galician customs and *volksgeist*, I realized that both were driven by the same impulses, that is, to bring their own notions of what Galician music and dance should be under the protection of powerful institutions. With regard to the subaltern relationship with cultural institutions, Xoán González Millán maintains that "[o]s colectivos subalternos están condenados pois, a establecer múltiples diálogos cos poderes instituídos, diálogos que se traducen obviamente en relacións de desigualdade" (130). As a result, this section analyzes how folklore became a contentious element in building a Galician national or regional identity and how the idea that cultural institutions of power could solidify a particular Galician discourse spurred intellectuals and artists into a battle to become part of them.

Mapping out the historical roots of the *gallegada,* Xoan Carreira considers that the mid-nineteenth-century music labeled as *a la gallega* initiated a trend that would determine future forms of folkloric performance of Galician music ("El nacionalismo operístico" 668). Several scholars maintain that the Coros Galegos, under the Irmandades da Fala's custody, emerged as an antidote against the expansion of Galician zarzuelas, which often caricature the Galician subaltern classes, as well as against the trend of *orfeóns*, which included Galician carols and

liturgical songs in their repertoire (Carreira, "Acerca de la situación" 590; Ínsua 69). Yet the result was more of those. Despite their efforts to modernize the genre, the Coros Galegos reproduced the same topics inspired on rural Galiza, conveying ornamental folklore with no significant changes in their aesthetics.

In Carreira's account, the trend of "a nova dramaturxia" that gave rise to the dissemination of folklore originated in the Galician zarzuela "A fonte do xuramento." It was performed for the first time in 1882 in the Liceo Brigantino, whose *orfeón* was under the direction of Pascual Veiga, one of the most influential composers of the moment along with José Castro "Chané," and Juan Montes ("El nacionalismo operístico" 670). *Orfeóns* planted the seed for folklore's popularization in Galiza, with their heyday being the Certamen de Pontevedra in 1880. Yet Costa Vázquez warns that the Galician trend had no connection to the Cors Clavé in Catalonia. The choirs created by Josep Anselm Clavé aimed to organize the working classes' spare time from a Catalanist perspective, offering "the spectacle of the harmonious working class as a whole" (Vialette 37).[5] By contrast, in the Galician *orfeóns*, participants were part of the petty-bourgeoisie.

Indeed, the folk repertoire was consecrated after Perfecto Feijoo inaugurated his choir Aires d'a Terra in 1883. In the first decades of the twentieth century, an expansion of the phenomenon took place, as Feijoo's example had paved the way for other ensembles to flourish: Toxos e Froles in Ferrol (1914), Cántigas da Terra in A Coruña (1916), Foliadas e Cantigas in Pontevedra (1916), Agarimos da Terra in Mondariz (1916), Cantigas e Aturuxos in Lugo (1917), De Ruada in Ourense (1918), Cantigas e Agarimos in Santiago (1921), Saudade in A Coruña

[5] Aurelie Vialette proposes a thought-provoking reading on the Cors Clavé, she maintains that the Catalanist choirs rather than preparing the workers for action and political consciousness were "an attempt to create social harmony in a society in which a number of issues were triggering fear of working-class rebellion" (37).

(1925), and many more. Luís Costa Vázquez has studied the formation of choir societies in Galiza as part of the activities orchestrated by the Irmandades da Fala, along with excursions and festivals, to promote Galician culture and language ("Coralismo, etnicidad y nacionalismo" 59). This involvement transpires from the active participation of some of the Irmandades's members in the choirs: Xaime Quintanilla as president of Toxos e Froles, Eladio Rodríguez and Antón Vilar Ponte as part of Cántigas da Terra, Xavier Prado 'Lameiro' as playwright in De Ruada, and Alexandre Bóveda and Amalia Álvarez Gallego as tenor and soprano in the Sociedade Coral Polifónica de Pontevedra (Costa Vázquez, "Os coros galegos históricos" 36; Marco 141-142).

Prior to the rise of the choirs and parallel to the *orfeóns* phenomenon, another enterprise started to rise, triggered by *fin-de-siècle* fears that modernization brought about: the Sociedad del Folk-lore Gallego.[6] The fact that the president of the Sociedad between 1884 and 1906 was Emilia Pardo Bazán, a person so far from suspicions of having Galician sovereigntist aspirations, evidences folklore's versatility as a genre that different political ideologies might appropriate for various purposes, even ones in opposition. In her vast work, Pardo Bazán also showed some curiosity for what became known as Galician tradition. She includes Galician customs tales not only in her novels but also in news articles, for example "La gallega," where she describes the Galician regional costume. However, Pardo Bazán's involvement in El Folk-lore underlines that cultural phenomena are never straightforward, as the Sociedad never included Manuel Murguía, father of Galician regionalism and advocate for the Celtic theory about Galician historical origins, who had passionately defended the creation of an institution to protect and promote folklore (Ares Montes 47).

[6] Moreover, the Sociedad del Folk-lore was the root of the future Real Academia Galega, an enterprise financed by the Galician diaspora in Havana and brought to life in 1906.

Emilia Pardo Bazán was in touch with other Iberian and International organizations that promoted the study of folklore. She was cognizant of the tasks performed by António Machado Álvarez "Demófilo," who created the society El Folk-lore Español, and she also exchanged letters with Portuguese intellectual and yet-to-be President of the Portuguese Republic Teófilo Braga (Clémessy 65).[7] In the proceedings of El Folk-lore Gallego, Pardo Bazán insisted on the need to create an institutional archive to keep folklore from oblivion:

> [E]l *Folk-Lore* quiere recoger esas tradiciones que se pierden, esas costumbres que se olvidan y esos vestigios de remotas edades que corren peligro de desaparecer para siempre. Quiere recogerlos, no con el fin de poner otra vez en uso lo que cayó en desuso, que sería empresa insensata y superior casi á las fuerzas humanas, sino con el fin de archivarlos, evitar su total desaparición, conservar su memoria y formar con ellos, por decirlo así, un museo universal, donde puedan estudiar los doctos la historia completa del pasado. (6-7)

In Padro Bazán's words, it was a project for the future, not for the present. In similar fashion, she declared what the Sociedad was not, highlighting the fact that the project would not be adjusted to nationalist purposes of any kind, by anticipating that El Folk-Lore "*no es* político, ni religioso, ni revolucionario, ni reaccionario, no tiene color ni bandera, ni más opinión que la de que debe trabajar mucho y desarrollarse y extenderse cuanto le sea posible" (6; emphasis in the original). I read this statement as a clear allusion to the members of the so-called Cova Céltica, a group of regionalist intellectuals—including Eugenio Carré Aldao, Manuel Murguía, Evaristo Martelo Paumán, Francisco Tettamancy, Salvador Golpe Varela (secretary of Sociedad del Folk-lore

[7] After she read the book titled *Cuestiones de arte y literatura* in 1883, Emilia Pardo Bazán sent a letter to Teófilo Braga congratulating him: "no he visto nunca estudio tan completo como el que hace V. de los orígenes del *Alalalá* [sic] . . . . Puede que no haya hoy en Galicia quien sea capaz de decir tanto como V. sobre los orígenes de nuestra literatura" (qtd. in Freire López 148).

Gallego), Galo Salinas, and Eduardo Pondal—who conceived of cultural artifacts as instruments for their political purposes. In her intervention, Pardo Bazán also describes the ideal folklorist, a depiction that could characterize her friend and conductor of the choir Aires d'a, Terra Perfecto Feijoo: "el mejor folklorista será el que menos ponga de su cosecha en los datos que recoja y conserve más entero y desnudo el pensamiento popular" (7). Perfecto Feijoo's role and his relationship with writer Emilia Pardo Bazán should not go unnoticed when studying Galician folklore.

Pharmacist Perfecto Feijoo became enthusiastic about the bagpipe while waiting for clients to come to his pharmacy. He then decided to take classes with Manuel de Villanueva, a musician from the nearby town of Poio, who schooled Feijoo as a luthier and made him proficient in bagpipe performance. Soon Feijoo expanded his knowledge to the *zanfoña* (hurdy-gurdy) and the *tumbal* bagpipe while collecting songs he afterwards learned by heart. This music-driven pastime led him to put together a choir destined to recreate traditional music with purist goals; Aires d'a Terra appeared in 1883 (Clémessy 67). In 1901, as proof of their friendship, Emilia Pardo Bazán, who was fond of the activities promoted by Feijoo and his choir, invited him to participate in the *Carnaval* in Madrid. After a parade across Recoletos's neighborhood, the chariot "A Gallega," holding Pontevedra and A Coruña's coat of arms and performing *Jeito*, was claimed the winner of the carnival contest (69).

The choreography and pantomime performed by Feijoo's choir vindicated *o xeito* (*jeito,* as translated in Spanish), the artisanal fishing of sardine and pilchard in the Rias Baixas region, opposed to the large-scale fishing practice called *traíñas.*[8] According to the *Carnaval*'s chronicles, the choir paraded a mule-drawn chariot that recalled a "dorna xeiteira," a type of

[8] Augusto González Besada, a Galician Member of the Parliament of the Conservative Party, had defended *xeito* a year earlier in the Spanish Parliament (Garbayo 268).

fishing boat suited for artisanal maritime activities. Inside the boat, couples were singing with tambourines and bagpipes and dancing "danzas do país." Emilia Pardo Bazán dressed in a Galician regional costume, Galician intellectual Víctor Said Armesto was at the bow, and Perfecto Feijoo, "el Gaitero del Lérez" as Pardo Bazán liked calling him, was at the stern. The whole event was a way of ennobling Galician folklore.[9] The chronicler pointed out that the only "aldeano auténtico" was tambourine player Manuel Castro (qtd. in Garbayo 269-273).

The entire affair attests to folklorists' interest, especially those of Feijoo and even Pardo Bazán—if she can be called such—in being recognized in Madrid, the capital city of the Spanish Kingdom. They orchestrated a performance that could be fully understood in Madrid at the expense of the purported intention—expressed by both Pardo Bazán and Perfecto Feijoo—to keep folklore pure and free from intrusions. The presence of a single "aldeano auténtico," among the finest names of Galician aristocracy, as a fetish that could grant the necessary level of authenticity, proves the Galician troupe's commitment to exhibiting an exotic image before a Spanish audience. Jacques Rancière has explored this phenomenon of appropriating theater for the people. He eloquently explains that this type of spectacle, among which I include the choirs and their *cadros*, is intended to please both its original audiences and the lettered public: "For the one, the scenes of rural life, allusions to everyday stories and traditional legends, served to procure a pleasure of recognition. For the other, these had to satisfy a mixed interest in the mists of legend and the exoticisms of naivety" (24).

The truth is that Perfecto Feijoo's choir created an aesthetic arrangement that other organizations with similar ethics ended up imitating: a bagpiper (*gaiteiro*), tambourine, bass drum, and eight or ten male singers, eventually adding young women to organize dancing

[9] See Nelly Clémessy for a critical reading of the event and the operation of ennobling folklore.

couples (López Silva 15). The Coros' repertoire included not only traditional vocal music pieces, i.e., "cantares de arrieiro, cantares de berce, foliadas, alalás, ribeiranas, muiñeiras, pandeiradas, desafíos etc," but also compositions by the triad Juan Montes, José Castro "Chané," and Pascual Veiga, which had become popular at the time, among them *Negra Sombra, Alborada, Os teus ollos*, and so on (Ínsua 67). In addition, the Coros' short plays often recreated rural Galician customs as well as love stories between peasants, and followed the same scheme, "costumista, humorístico ou sentimental" (Ínsua 75). The plots were situated in rural areas and featured representations of agricultural chores and pastimes, such as *ruadas*, *espadelas*, *mallas*, and *romarías*. Those activities ended up becoming symbols of Galicianness. In the end, Laura Tato Fontaíña believes choirs displayed traditional pieces because there was very limited musical compositions available to them (50).

Traditional garb would deserve an entire chapter. As representatives of Galician petty-bourgeois culture, the Coros absorbed the bourgeoisie's aesthetic regarding so-called regional dress. Therefore, its traditional Galician dress imagery resembles many of the choices made by the bourgeoisie concerning garments, fabrics, and ornaments. In the case of the Galician female costume, Belén Sáenz-Chas Díaz says that "a súa vestimenta terá as pezas máis luxosas, feitas cos máis ricos tecidos, recargadas de adornos e bordados e enfeitadas coas mellores xoias. Sen pretendelo, acaban convertendo o traxe precisamente nun disfrace" (107). The use of underwear marked a key social distinction; in this context, bourgeois women added to regional clothing *pololos* (long bloomers) and petticoats made of fine linen (111), as in Coros y Danzas. In the case of the Galician male costume, choirs took as a model the clothing worn by bagpipers in their performances. Often, these were peasants hired by people of means to play at the occasion of communal activities, encompassing *fías*, *tascas*, and *espadelas* –different names addressing the

celebration of flax processing depending on their stages. Bagpipers were also the foremost entertainers in patron saint festivities and *romarías,* as well as in weddings, baptisms, and other private celebrations. While performing, the bagpiper wore a *monteira,* an ornate vest, a cardigan matching his pants, a sash, and leggings, quite different from everyday garments (108).

This folklorist-driven trend was much in debt to Felip Pedrell's ideas. In his book *Por nuestra música* (1891), the Catalan musician advocated for following the ideas of *la nueva escuela rusa*. In his view, the choir should represent the collectivity and never limit its role to mere ornament or be there for the soloist to show off. He was also an enthusiastic defender of the *nueva escuela rusa* because it expressed the temperament of particular characters while remaining faithful to the historical period depicted, and so, paying attention to "color local" (34). But Pedrell was not alone when comparing Russian and Spanish cultures as peripheral others. In Paris, the cultural capital of the arts, French composer Henri Collet likened Spain to Russia, assuming both countries' subordination to France, while partaking "in the Orientalist discursive practice that lumps together, intermingles and even confuses cultures deemed 'peripheral'" (Llano, *Whose Spain?* 41). In one way or another, Pedrell's notions also permeated the Coros Galegos, which in turn had a central role in creating a music genre addressed to an urban public and they surely permeated Rey de Viana's ideas about Galician and Spanish music.[10]

Along with the success that the Coros Galegos experienced in the first decades of the twentieth century, there was a modernizing wave motivated by nationalist Daniel Rodríguez Castelao's fascination with the Ballets Russes as he saw them in Paris in 1921 (López Silva 12-13). It is worth mentioning the interest that the Ballets Russes—and Russian culture generally—

[10] Pedrell's influences reached Galiza through Ramón de Arana *Pizzicato's* intervention. *Pizzicato* had been Pedrell's collaborator and he was in charge of the Galician collection in Pedrell's Iberian project to collect popular songs from different territories (Jurado 433).

raised in peripheral cultures, and the motivation to imitate them, as seen also in Chapter 2. Castelao's involvement in choirs was substantial. He participated as singer and dancer in a choir his early years in Pontevedra, and he advocated folkloric recovery as a way to expand Galician nationalism: "Hai que levar a gaita á Universidade" (qtd. in Garbayo 261). At that moment, some of the Galician theaters accustomed to the Coros Galegos hosted Les Ballets Suédois in its 1921 tour. Maruxa Baliñas, who has studied the group's Spanish tournée, argues that "fueron Les Ballets Suédois los que se convirtieron en modelos de esa modernidad que no renunciaba a sus raíces, y que respondía a esa inquietante cuestión —aún lo sigue siendo— de cómo convertirse en otro, cómo alcanzar el éxito, sin dejar de ser uno mismo" (42). This logic of trying to achieve success while conducting an ontological exercise lasted until the days of Rey de Viana.

Other voices that attempt to renew the Choir format, like Antón Vilar Ponte, sought inspiration in Ireland, which had become a mecca for Galician nationalists. Notably, in 1927 Vilar Ponte wanted to promote "folk-drama—a la manera que se cultiva en Irlanda" (qtd. in Tato Fontaíña 56). The intellectuals of the Xeración Nós and the Seminario de Estudos Galegos tried to follow the Irish nationalist poet, dramatist, and man of letters William Butler Yeats, who had become very influential in the folk drama genre in his country. Concerning Celtic theories Ernest Renan's *La poésie des races celtiques* (1854) and Matthew Arnold's *On the Study of Celtic Literature* (1867), both popular works, spread a pseudo-academic racial typology that saw the Celtic race as "lacking the 'strong sense' and manly 'genius' of English culture." Those works emphasized the idea of the Celt as being child-like and feminine, sentimental, sensuous, and "quick to feel impressions," while also anarchical and undisciplined—all those attributes have negative connotations. Yeats, for his part, insisted on the primitive and visionary character of Irish folk culture, somehow endorsing the colonial ideas that circulated from the centers of

power (Pethica). According to Helena Miguélez-Carballeira in her postcolonial study about the construction of the Galician nation as a sentimental one, the Celtic notion served the centralist interests in defining Galiza as a gendered territory, so as to neutralize any sovereigntist claims. As I will explore later in this section, Celticism was paramount in creating an artistic label that could serve to entertain the idea of Galician particularities without engaging in the construction of a political community.

In 1903, the creation of the short-lived Escola Rexional de Declamación became the first attempt to invigorate the performing arts in Galiza, creating a drama tradition in debt with writer José Echegaray (Carreira, "El nacionalismo operístico" 671).[11] The Escola is also proof of the preoccupation of some sectors of the Irmandades with solidifying their cultural activity through the establishment of institutions. However, the "drama romántico de corte ruralista" prevailed as the preferred form of Galician nationalists (López Silva 13). Additionally, the inclusion of women in the Coros Galegos became an important milestone. Toxos e Froles choir was a pioneer, following the principles stablished in the Lugo Asembly: "igualdade absoluta, política e civil, da muller co home" (cit. en Ínsua 63). Despite those changes in the performing scene, there were tensions among the different branches of Galician nationalism between those who defended a moral traditionalist approach to folklore and the performing arts and those who saw a means to convey their liberal ideas and their nationalist message through choirs.

[11] See Wadda Ríos-Font for an analysis on how Echegaray's melodramatic genre changed Spanish theater during the nineteenth century by combining Spanish traditional tropes with popular tastes.

Image 12. Coro Galego De Ruada, on the occasion of its first performance at the Salón Apolo, Ourense, on June 24, 1919. Courtesy of Coral De Ruada.

Following the tradition of Feijoo's *cadros de costumes*, in the 1920s, the De Ruada choir premiered the *estampas galegas* to challenge the hegemonic drama plays performed by the Coros. They were allegedly more dynamic and succeeded in attracting new audiences to the theater (Ínsua 76). Costa Vázquez describes *estampas* as "representaciones costumbristas de la vida campesina que integran música, texto y baile, y que la agrupación orensana [De Ruada] divulgaría con gran éxito apoyada en una sólida operación empresarial" ("Coralismo, etnicidad y nacionalismo" 57). *Estampas* were heavily based on Russian "korobok," brief sketches with no connection but performed together, in which song, stage design, and clothing fit the plot (Jurado 441). A chronicle of De Ruada's performance published in *La Razón* newspaper in 1931 states: "el coro se oculta al público que sólo oye las voces y ve la decoración. [La parte coreográfica] está constituida por el baile típico puro, muiñeiras, ribeiranas, etc. Hay una danza gremial de

marineros que data del siglo XIII o XIV. No hemos llegado a la forma de 'ballet', pero nos hemos inclinado un poco a ella. . . . Se representan algunos 'juguetitos' de costumbres gallegas, obras breves de ambientes y tipos" (qtd. in 442). However, despite their marked vocation for newness, they contributed to cementing a traditional aesthetic. As heir of this dramatic tradition, Rey de Viana also choreographed dances from craft guilds targeted at urban dwellers that had already lost contact with the premodern labor force, like *Aguilladas e aguariñas (danza de los arrieros)*.

In 1924, the nationalist sectors' tensions peaked with the publication of *Hacia el ballet gallego* by young ethnomusicologist Jesús Bal y Gay.[12] Since his years as a collaborator of the Seminario de Estudos Galegos, Bal y Gay had raised the question of how muscially notate a traditional repertoire, suggesting the need to promote a scientific method to study traditional art and even the creation of a "laboratorio del folclore" (Costa, "Del folklorismo a la vanguardia" 242) in view of the International Commission of Popular Arts's success (see Introduction).[13] At the same time, he warned against the aesthetic abuses of Romanticism while driving interest towards the avant-garde movement and musicians who have taken folk music as inspiration such as Debussy, Ravel, Bartók, and Stravinsky—with whom he established a strong friendship during his years as an exile in Mexico (239).

In his book, Bal y Gay raises the need to have an artistic "reserva"—a vernacular music archive—as a *sine qua non* condition for establishing a "national art." This reserve of knowledge

[12] At this point Jesús Bal y Gay was studying Medicine in Madrid and stayed at the Residencia de Estudiantes. There, he became acquainted with some of the members of the *Generación del 27* and with the *Grupo de los Ocho*, which his future wife Rosita Ascot was also part of. After the Spanish Civil War, Bal y Gay fled with Ascot to Mexico, where he continued his musical career as critic and composer, *Don Quijote* being his master piece (Villanueva 42-93).

[13] Some years later, Bal y Gay was responsible for sending the report on Spanish folklore to the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation to elaborate the manuscript *Folklore musical: répertoire international des collections et centres de documentation avec notices sur l'etat actual des recherches dans les différents pays et références bibliographiques* (1939).

and techniques had to be recognized within the artistic field to deserve to be transmitted. And, as an example, he focused on Hungarian composer Bela Bartók: "El creador que quiera hacer arte de hondas raíces populares ha de prepararse mediante una larga asimilación del folklore o de la palpitante vida que le circunda. Luego, puede crear, libre de todo prejuicio, una obra 'suya' con la firmeza de que al propio tiempo será—calidades de perdurabilidad—'nacional' y 'universal'" (76).[14] Under this premise, music could still participate in what Peter Bürger called "the praxis of life," i.e., music was neither autonomous nor the result of individual production and individual reception. According to Peter Bürger, avant-garde overcame bourgeois art autonomy by reintegrating art into the praxis of life (49-54). Acknowledging this nexus between art and its consequences, Bal y Gay believed music to be constitutive of the Galician nation but not subordinated to it. He claimed that a Galician art based on its differentiated plasticity would lead to an art universal in dissemination and reception. This certain independence of the musical field argued by Bal y Gay did not imply art detachment from social and political life but rather a training and scientific method that could grant the composer and the performer enough freedom to succeed in their creations.

In some respects, Bal y Gay's ideas already anticipated the elitist formulations of José Ortega y Gasset in his influential work *La deshumanización del arte* (1925). Bal y Gay's *Hacia el ballet gallego* aimed to confront the Coros Galegos to transform them into something different, with ballet performance as a distant horizon. This book placed Bal y Gay at the focal point of the debates around Galician nationalism in the 1920s. *Hacia el ballet gallego* was

[14] Bal y Gay addressed Galician nationalists in another article published in the nationalist journal *Nós* titled "O momento actual," where he defended similar ideas: "Anque moitos téñano por paradóxico, direi que pode haber un nazonalismo forte alonxado do folklore. Exempros: o francés, o alemán. N-iles está vivo o esprito racial anque non aproveitan melodías nativas. O nazonalismo ten de nacer cando haxa feita unha abondosa labora, cando haxa músicos considerábeles. Il é o que consagra a música de moitos anos de unha nazón. Non se abrangue porque uns cantos homes digan imos facer música nazonalista, e póñanse a compor obras inspiradas en melodías do pobo" (4).

released by the Ronsel publishing house and received a celebratory review from Galician dramatist and intellectual Rafael Dieste, who stated: "este libro ha venido a poner en nuestro quieto ámbito un grato bordoneo de esperanzas" (cit. en Villanueva 42). Yet the polemic was served, and the ballet to which Bal y Gay aspired was questioned by some Galician nationalists, while years later, in *ABC* newspaper, one of the major dailies under Francoism, the Ballet Gallego was deemed the heir of Bal y Gay's proposal: "Desde hace años hay un intento de creación del 'ballet gallego' que, al cabo de los mismos, más de treinta desde aquel pequeño, pero interesante ensayo *Hacia el ballet gallego* que escribiera Jesús Bal y Gay, hoy va siendo una cuajada realidad en el verde y frondoso árbol de lo popular galaico-folklórico" (Beira de Alarcón 39).

Returning to the Coros Galegos' role, the truth is that from the moment Miguel Primo de Rivera's dictatorship was established (1923-1929), some of the most important choirs started depoliticizing their repertoire, meekly accepting the mandates of the single party Unión Patriótica (Ínsua 72-73).[15] Moreover, the Coros continued to perform *estampas gallegas* and producing "un teatro folclórico con música galega," after the Spanish Civil War (Pilar Alén 337). During this time, the Coros Galegos actively reproduced in their performances an image of Galician culture focused on its gastronomy and a reified image of its music and dance (muiñeira and gaita). This image of Galician traditions received a booster with the rise of the Ballet Gallego, which never contested these topics as trustful representations of Galician ontology. Manuel Fraga's rhetoric when talking about the Rey de Viana's troupe reaped to a degree all the clichés that the choirs sowed: "Música e baile están arraigados fondamente no pobo galego. Non hai festa nin romaría da nosa terra sen que o son de gaitas, tamborís, pandeiros, pandeiretas e

[15] Xaime Quintanilla left Toxos e Froles when the ensemble decided to perform before dictator Miguel Primo de Rivera in 1924 (Ínsua 73).

outros instrumentos rompa o espacio e sen que os pés dos romeiros, feirantes e 'festeiros' se lancen en tromba a segui-las sincopadas notas" (12).

I wanted to underline this alliance of some sectors of Galician folklorism with reactionary power forces because I argue that it had a clear continuity in the Ballet Gallego Rey de Viana. In fact, Francisco Franco and Carmen Polo sometimes brought the Ballet Gallego to entertain in their private parties.[16] Paradoxically, even during the years in which the Coros Galegos' performances were mere political propaganda of what the Irmandades da Fala's members thought representative of a healthy Galician culture its aesthetic choices bolstered a symbolism (that of rural Galiza's everyday life) which quickly became a fetish. This repertoire—far from Jesús Bal y Gay's dreamed "reserva"—was uncritically appropriated by José Manuel Rey de Viana to accomplish another *Galician-ish* ballet, again assuming the creation of Galician music and dance without any previous scholarly training.[17]

José Manuel Rey de Viana was born in Ourense, Galiza, in 1923. He started dancing when he was barely eight years old. He was the son of a well-to-do textile businessman. On a trip to Madrid at the age of eight, Rey de Viana watched a film about Sergei Diaghilev's Ballets Russes with performances by Vaslav Nijinsky and Ana Pavlova. From that moment on, he decided that he wanted to be a dancer: "El efecto que me produjo fué electrizante" (qtd. in Vázquez de Parga 2). Rey de Viana began his training as a dancer in Dusseldorf (Germany); although official propaganda vaguely mentions that he was the pupil of "algunas de las máximas figuras germanas de la danza." Somewhere else, he states that he studied with Kurt Jooss, Aurelio Milloss and was a colleague of Ivonne Georgi (twenty years older than him). This was

[16] According to right-wing media, the Ballet Gallego Rey de Viana performed before the Franco marriage at their silver anniversary (Olano, "Franco en la cubierta," 21).
[17] I am not the first one in suggesting a connection between the *estampas galegas* and the Ballet Gallego. See Carreira ("El nacionalismo operístico" 670).

disseminated by contemporary media, and even recent scholarly works maintain that he trained in Germany.[18] In fact, Kurt Jooss had been a disciple of Rudolf von Laban, who in 1927 opened the Tänzerziehung in der Folkwang Schule (Dance Education at the Folkwang School) at Essen. There, Jooss combined a modified form of classical training (excluding pointwork) with different modern techniques, while also incorporating Laban's expressive dynamics (eukinetics) and his theory and practice of form with regard to space (choreutics) (Parsch-Bergsohn 41). Nonetheless, in a devastating article titled "Recuerdos del pololo y elogio de la caspa," Xoan Carreira questions the fact that José Manuel Rey de Viana and Ivonne Georgi could have been classmates at all due to the age gap, in a sarcastic tone that evidences his mistrust of Rey de Viana's story altogether: "Teniendo en cuenta que Ivonne Georgi trabajó en la compañía de Kurt Joos (1901-1979) entre 1924 y 1936, y Rey de Viana fue su compañero, eso parece indicar que fue uno de los bailarines más jóvenes de la historia al incorporarse a la compañía de Joos [sic] a la tierna edad de un año." Carreira also points out that Aurelio Milloss was ballet direct of the Rome Opera from 1938 to 1945, placing doubt on Rey de Viana's official narrative, as the latter never claimed to have studied in Italy.

Rey de Viana met his wife Victoria Canedo when recovering in a Galician Hospital from the wounds incurred in the Second World War as a member of the fascist *División Azul*. At this point, as he declared, "mis sueños de una carrera artística se habían roto... sencillamente no veía razón alguna para vivir" (qtd. in Vázquez de Parga 2). Victoria Canedo was his nurse, and, in the official version of events, convinced him to resume his dancing career: "Mientras Victoria Eugenia escuchaba, Rey de Viana hablaba de su fascinación por el Folklore europeo. Hasta había llevado al Sanatorio valiosos libros sobre el tema. Pero en ninguno de ellos encontró mención

[18] See, for instance, Becerra de Becerreá (18). The *Gran Enciclopedia de España Online* states that he was the pupil of Jooss and Millos.

alguna de Galicia. 'Las tradiciones celtas de España merecen un trato mejor'" (2). In 1949, Rey de Viana and Canedo created the Ballet Gallego Rey de Viana. As the group's name suggests, she assumed a secondary position as dancer and ballet master, while Rey de Viana became the choreographer and director. According to the media, Rey de Viana had conducted extensive research on Galician folk music and dances:

> Comenzó por exhumar, con absoluto respeto a las características raciales, un conjunto de danzas de las montañas, las mariñas y las costas galaicas, escenificando leyendas y tradiciones, en la que se acusa la faceta mágica peculiar de los celtas, y las vistió con apropiada indumentaria, después de demoradas visitas a los museos de la región y precisas consultas a la Real Academia Gallega, logrando así un repertorio dotado de un tipismo bien entendido, que rehuye la estampa tópica. (Letter to José Gómez 2)[19]

Vague notions such as "características raciales," "tipismo bien entendido," and "estampa tópica" contest the scientific connotation of the word "research" —replaced by "exhumar" as a more solemn verbal choice. In fact, Rey de Viana's training has long been questioned. According to Carolina Hernández Abad, some members of Coros y Danzas from A Coruña challenged Rey de Viana's ballet notions, insisting that only Victoria Canedo had received ballet training (580).[20] In addition, Victoria Canedo had been a member of Sección Femenina, and while part of the organization, she conducted some folk research. In a letter published in the newspaper *El Ideal Gallego* in October 1975, Maruja Sampelayo, SF leader of Cultura, addressed Rey de Viana suggesting that Victoria Canedo had used Coros y Danzas' repertoire for the Ballet: "buena

[19] This information was attached to a letter that Rey de Viana sent to José Gómez, who had recently been named member of the Academia de Bellas Artes Nuestra Señora del Rosario.

[20] This was not, however, the only dubious event in Rey de Viana's curriculum. In 1975, the Spanish Embassy in Rome sent a letter to Madrid asking whether the Ballet Gallego had in 1961 received the San Marco Prize in the Folk Dance Festival in Venice. The letter stated that an Italian newspaper could not find the information anywhere since the festival's archive had been destroyed in *aqua alta* (Messía y Jiménez).

Instructora que fue durante varios años de la SF y *en los cuales recogió, junto con otras camaradas, gran parte de las danzas que V. lleva estilizadas en su repertorio*" (qtd. in Hernández Abad 584; my emphasis).[21]

In 1955 the company was introduced to the public in A Coruña with 24 dancers. Some years later, in 1959, Rodrigo A. de Santiago, the Basque conductor of the Municipal Band of A Coruña (1947-1967), published a book titled *La música popular gallega*. The essay was a sort of *état de l'art* about traditional music and dances in Galiza, in which he advocated for the Celtic origins of Galician vernacular culture. There, De Santiago attacks the Coros Galegos and their *estampas*: "los coros populares y los grupos de aficionados al teatro lírico, dramático y de comedia. . . . montan la escena para representar en la misma algunas que otras estampas populares; estampas, por lo general (existe alguna excepción) de relativo valor artístico, con manoseados temás [sic], ya gastados en demasía, y con el único pretexto de lanzar algunos 'aturuxos' allí donde más les venga en gana a algunos de los actuantes" (42).

In the book section dedicated to Galician ballet, he complains that nothing of the like had emerged in Galiza except for the incipient Ballet Gallego Rey de Viana, with which he ended up collaborating and to which he became music consultant, as shown in a letter from Ángel Porto Anido, president of the Deputación de A Coruña (1970-1974). In *La música popular gallega*, while De Santiago admired the task conducted by Sección Femenina and the Coros y Danzas, which I have studied in the first chapter, he deemed the Ballet Gallego the savior of Galician

[21] The polemic goes on and Victoria Canedo answered to Sampelayo's letter in the same newspaper accusing Coros y Danzas of lacking any ability to conduct research and fabricating choreographies out of folk tunes: "comenzó a ponerse de manifiesto vuestra falta de capacidad para realizar una auténtica labor en pro del folklore, a juzgar por las cosas que tuve que vivir y presenciar. . . . Primero, como Instructora General, no entraba en mis obligaciones el recoger danzas, ni músicas, ni trajes típicos. En una ocasión, me pidieron como favor, acompañara a una Instructora de Baile, para ir a recoger una danza a Lalín. Para mi sorpresa, al llegar a este pueblo, tal danza no existía, pero sí encontramos una música de acompañamientos procesional, sobre la cual, la Instructora de Baile, inventó una danza y la presentó públicamente como una danza folklórica pura" (qtd. in Hernández Abad 585).

ballet: “El ‘Ballet Gallego’ puede dar a Galicia un prominente puesto en el amplio mundo de las bellas artes, pues pudiera irrumpir en el mismo con la aportación de unos valores genuinamente puros, nuevas esencias temáticas, exuberante riqueza polícroma musical de primer orden, variadísima gama plástica, amén de unas exquisitas facetas coreográficas que darían a no dudar nueva fisonomía al género balletístico” (46). Moreover, De Santiago even charted the way forward to create an actual Galician ballet: “El ideal del ‘Ballet Gallego’ sería partir de lo antiguo, con su variadísima gama de ‘puntos’, para desembocar en el ‘ballet’ moderno, síntesis de las artes del espacio y de la duración, de la música, de la danza, de la pintura, del vestido y de la escenificación” (48).

Rodrigo de Santiago composed some of the music performed by the Ballet Gallego, such as “Gran Pandeirada”—premiered the same year his book was published, in 1959, “Belidas fiandeiras,” “Zoqueiriño de Chantada” and “Romaxe,” among others (“Programa a Beneficio de la Asociación Juan XXIII” 1-2). He was another advocate of the Celtic thesis stubbornly defended by the Cova Céltica’s members, as outlined above. Helena Miguélez-Carballeira has extensively studied the connection between the Celtic discourse and the construction of the alleged feminine national psychology of the Galician people. She concludes that such national representation coincides with discourses built from Spanish centralist circles, inaugurated by Antonio Maura during his presidential appointments between 1885 and 1923. According to this rhetorical turn, regionalism was based on a controlled tolerance of cultural display combined with the belief that healthy regional differences could contribute to the glory of the Spanish state (38). Thus, unintentionally, some members of the Irmandades da Fala embraced a discourse that was detrimental to their political interests (111).

Miguélez-Carballeira delineates how the Celtic discourse changed from granting the Galician people bellicose, brave, and violent attributes to transforming it into a sentimental nation in the nineteenth century (29-33). She argues that: "a idea do sentimentalismo era, nas décadas que precedem à articulação do nacionalismo galego, uma característica desejável para traçar o retrato caracterológico da nação galega; um traço, esse, o sentimentalismo, que poderia ajudar a contrastar as estereotipadas descrições espanholas, que pintavam o povo galego como bárbaro e grosseiro" (33). But, then, this same topos was appropriated by centralist positions that exerted a colonialist relationship with Galiza as a way to neutralize any possible political action at the hands of Galician sovereigntists.[22] Moreover, Xosé Manoel Núñez Seixas identifies Celticism and the myth of saudade as two positive attributes of Galician culture, from the point of view of Spanish centralist discourses: "foron adoito feminizados no discurso para así connotar unha amábel, pero efectiva subordinación fronte á viril e heroica Castela. Galicia deviña así nun lugar paradisíaco, de xentes laboriosas, discretas e honestas" (197).

In 1962, in an article titled "Musicología celta. Pentatonismo en la música gallego," Rodrigo de Santiago suggests that the pentatonic scale was a characteristic of Celtic music still present in Galician melodies as well as in other Celtic cultures, i.e., the Scotts and the Bretons. He concludes the article underscoring that "lo pentatónico puro es posible—aun hoy—, hallarlo en la música gallega, particularmente en aquella que haya sido bien cantada—al ser recreada—recogida y transcrita con fidelidad sin 'postizos' ni falsedades, característica y calidad que nos llevará muy lejos; tan lejos que, buscando su origen rebasaríamos el esplendor de lo teórico y

[22] Among the sources and literary excerpts used by Miguélez-Carballeira to back her thesis, the discourse delivered by Juan Armada Losada, known as Marqués de Figueroa and one of the most prominent figures of the Conservative Party in Galiza, titled *De la poesía gallega* (1889), results particularly perceptive of the phenomenon described thereof: "Por su origen celta se explica el modo de ser del gallego, ese extraño dualismo de su carácter en que se amalgaman la cualidad afectiva que se muestra en el amor al terruño y el don de observar, la facultad crítica, que matiza con suaves ironías y finas burlas las coplas populares" (36-37).

técnico griego, para unirnos en la búsqueda común del primitivismo de ambas razas" (33). However, Xoan Carreira questions the accuracy of De Rodrigo's examples. The first melody studied, an *Alala* extracted from the *Cancioneiro* (1872) by Casto Sampedro, the melody is confined to the first variation; he concealed the second variation as it did not serve his argumentative purposes ("Acerca de la situación" 586). This maneuver shows how Celticism had to modify cultural productions to make them fit its narrow framework.

Rodrigo de Santiago was not the only intellectual emphasizing Galician Celtic origins. Raúl Vázquez de Parga's text published in the *Reader's Digest* summarizing Rey de Viana's career focuses on the Celtic issue: "Galicia, al igual que Irlanda, fué colonizada hace unos 1.500 años [sic] por los celtas de la Europa central. Ellos dejaron una herencia no solo gaita [sic], sinó también muchos de los rubios y pelirrojos que pueden verse en la población actual" (4). This self-racialization, based on a phenotype ascribed to the Galician people as shown in the last sentence ("rubios y pelirrojos"), on the one hand located Galician ethnicity within racist Aryan prescriptions of blondness, but on the other hand contributed to laying the ground for Spanish domination over peripheral territories by emphasizing Galician othering from Spanish hegemonic culture. Simultaneously, this discourse complemented the Spanish cultural elite's disdain for a Gypsyfied flamenco and its dancers, mainly people from Andalusia pertaining to the subaltern classes, as I shall demonstrate in the following section.

In a 1971 plenary session, the Provincial Administration of A Coruña approved creating the Escuela de Música y Danza de Galicia, linked to the Ballet Gallego. This was the result of Rey de Viana's public campaign to donate his Ballet to a public institution. Some years earlier, in 1963, after suffering a severe disease that put his life at risk, Rey de Viana had made a public call to donate the heritage he had built around the Ballet to a public institution: "Mientras

convalecía pensó, si se moría, el Ballet Gallego moría también. Aterrorizado ante la idea, intentó convertir la Compañía en una institución gallega permanente" (Vázquez de Praga 5). He expected a public institution to finance a corps de ballet by offering scholarships. To this end, Galician media disseminated a letter in which he addressed A Coruña's mayor and the presidents of the four provincial entities with requests to sponsor his Ballet and create a fellowship to build a dance ensemble: "La aceptación de la beca responsabilizaría a los miembros del ballet, y en poco tiempo su perfección técnica se incrementaría de manera sensacional, en beneficio de su calidad y del prestigio de Galicia" ("El Ballet Gallego pide ayuda"). The rhetoric around this case became a debate on how much institutions cared about Galician prestige and its symbolic value.

Paradoxically, this discourse coincides with that of Ramón Piñeiro, the leader of the Galaxia publishing house and one of the most prominent figures of *Galeguismo* during the dictatorship. In "Nova Orientación do Galeguismo" (1954) Piñeiro acknowledges the limitations imposed to *Galeguismo* during Franco's regime, relegating the political battle to a distant future and instead focusing on the cultural terrain: "Coa nova táctica emprendida polo galeguismo, a loita líbrase no terreo menos favorábel para a arrepiante eficiencia represiva do Réxime. . . . temos que aproveitar o tempo para facer laboura positiva, laboura de formación de valores, de creación de bens culturais e de incremento do prestixio da personalidade espiritual galega" (Piñeiro 160). Thus, cultural prestige was a paramount goal to attain under the dictatorship: "Canto meirande sexa a nosa riqueza e o noso prestixio cultural, meirandes han de ser os nosos dereitos a liberdade no futuro" (161).

Some public figures shared a sense that Galician institutions should be held accountable for supporting the Ballet Gallego, as the company was serving the lofty goal of disseminating

Galician folklore. In 1971, Luis Sánchez wrote to above-mentioned Ángel Porto Anido on behalf the Federación Mundial de Sociedades Gallegas, of the Galician diaspora, to urge him to finance Rey de Viana's company:

> Estima esta Federación que si las dificultades económicas obligasen al Ballet Gallego a cesar en sus actividades, sufriría un grave quebranto la acción divulgadora de nuestro folklore. Y, por ello, y por el prestigio que para Galicia supone la existencia de un conjunto artístico de esta categoría, me permito dirigirme a esa Corporación con el ruego de que, en la medida de lo factible, concedan al Ballet Gallego de La Coruña, la máxima ayuda..." (Sánchez)

It goes without mentioning that Rey de Viana was of the same opinion, as shown in a letter addressed to Rafael Puga Ramón, at the time president of the Deputación. José Manuel Rey de Viana warns that anyone who wanted the ballet troupe to continue dancing would have to pay for it ("si Galicia quiere contar con un Ballet permanente de gran dimesión artística como el que ahora tiene y [que] este pueda multiplicar su labor creadora, Galicia tiene que ayudarlo y enraizarlo a sí misma de una manera concreta y eficaz").

The Ballet Gallego's initial steps without official recognition generated the sense that Galician institutions owed support to Rey de Viana after the troupe's success abroad. The dance company's motto was: "Nuestro espíritu es recio como el tojo, que florece sin que nadie se cuide de abonarlo" (qtd. in Cortón 511). By comparing his Ballet with a *toxo* ("gorse"), Rey de Viana emphasized the ensemble's Galicianness. *Toxos* are one of the most representative bush species of Galician plant life, and one of the most recognizable Coros of the beginning of the twentieth century was Toxos e Froles. Additionally, the word *toxo* was quite present in the Rexurdimento poetry, and it is key to Rosalía de Castro's work *Follas novas* (1880), in which the author

compares her own poetry book to a *toxo*: "Non 'follas novas,' ramallo / de toxos e silvas sôs" (416) This way, Rey de Viana inscribed his Ballet into Galician canonical tradition while emphasizing that everything they achieved has been with no support other than his own tenacity, like gorse growing without care ("que florece sin que nadie se cuide de abonarlo" Cortón 551). For Rey de Viana, it was time for institutions to step in and contribute to the task that he initiated. And so the choreographer placed his trust in official bodies as faithful preservers of non-material artifacts.

The transition from the private to the public domain was also an economic matter. The small-scaled ensemble could not maintain a corps de ballet under the social conditions the Franco Regime imposed on people, as the country's financial state did not allow for a professional career in the ballet realm: "Uno de los graves problemas que tiene planteados el Ballet Gallego desde su nacimiento, es el tener que estar constantemente haciendo bailarines que cubran las obligadas sustituciones que cada año nos vemos obligados a realizar en el CUERPO DE BAILE TITULAR. Es lamentable que cuando se ha logrado en el bailarín o bailarina la perfección artística, estos nos abandonen por motivos económicos en su mayor parte" (Rey de Viana, "Escrito" 1). As a solution, Rey de Viana suggested that the Deputación cover the ballet's expenses by offering fellowships to incoming dancers. However, facing the reality of the limited job positions available to professional dancers in Galiza, the fellowship conditioned its recipients to prepare themselves in another profession or trade during the spare time dance training would leave them: "Todos los becados estarán obligados en sus horas libres a preparase o dedicarse al estudio de una profesión u oficio, con el fin de evitar que este, llegado el momento en que su edad no le permita bailar o desempeñar algún otro cometido en el 'Ballet,' quede en el desamparo por carecer de otro oficio o profesión" (2). Failing to do so meant the termination of

the fellowship. Nevertheless, it somehow contradicts the spirit of Rey de Viana's proposal for a Galician ballet, as this ballet would still depend on temporary dancers that could not fully commit their lives to the dance scene.

It is perplexing that Rey de Viana wanted to have a permanent, academically trained corps de ballet to showcase the potential value of a Galician culture of Celtic origins, yet these dancers could not devote themselves entirely to dance, given the possibility of ending up unemployed and increasing the lists of the needy in an impoverished country. The documents quoted suggest, rather, that Rey de Viana wanted himself and Victoria Canedo to be the only professional dancers in Galiza, limiting the expectations of others who dreamed of making a living out of a ballet career. At the same time, the Rey de Viana-Canedo couple ensured for themselves a lifelong position in the only public-sponsored ensemble that Galiza had ever had, at the only cost of donating their assets *de iure* while continuing to control them *de facto*.

Rey de Viana's boastful tone is discernible in the testament he made, with Manuel Fraga Iribarne, Minister of Information and Tourism, as executor—which in turn is also proof of their close relationship. In it, Rey de Viana claimed that he was donating everything he was ("todo lo que soy") and his entire legacy to Galiza itself: "Lego a Galicia todo lo que soy y todo lo que represento. Lego a Galicia el 'Ballet Gallego' y todo lo que él representa, sus bienes espirituales y sus bienes materiales. Que cuando por disposición de Dios yo abandone este mundo, Galicia cuide del 'Ballet Gallego' para su mayor Gloria" (Testament). As per this spiritual donation, it can be argued that Rey de Viana expected public institutions to take care of him and the Ballet his fantasy had created. The Deputación generously compensated Rey de Viana's alleged sacrifice, adding to his labor contract the following clause: "Además de la remuneración mensual el Sr. Rey de Viana Tendrá [sic] derecho a una participación, equivalente al 25% de los

beneficios líquidos resultantes de cada contrato de actuación que produzca el cuadro artístico de la Sección de Ballet Gallego" ("Cláusulas adicionales"). Although there was not enough revenue to form a corps de ballet, it was sufficient for Rey de Viana to perform well-being while representing Galiza before cosmopolitan and domestic elites.

In 1971, the Deputación de A Coruña was presided by Ángel Porto Anido, who would wind up leading the Falange Española de A Coruña in the post-Franco era. He decided to embrace Rey de Viana's offer and create the Escuela de Música y Danza de Galicia. The fact that a Provincial institution took the pioneering role of creating a school to represent Galician dance and music in its entirety reveals the shady character of the whole matter. Furthermore, both Rey de Viana's proposal and Porto Anido's response were praised by the *Movimiento*'s press, as shown in an article by a journalist with the pseudonym of Ezequiel that I found among archival materials held at the Deputación. The article exaggerates the amount donated by Rey de Viana. It was not twelve million pesetas, as suggested, but rather seven million, including the audiovisual technology, stage setting, clothing, and jewelry. Likewise, in an article titled "El Ballet Gallego, para Galicia," Galician musicologist Isidoro Guede urges institutions to accept Rey de Viana's donation. In his view, Rey de Viana could make Galiza shine outside its borders: "Galicia debe recibir el legado de Rey de Viana con gratitud y con júvilo [sic]. Porque el Ballet Gallego ha sido y es la más auténtica expresión plástica del alma de nuestra tierra con lenguaje universal y nivel de arte superior" (Guede).

The Galician Ballet's institutionalization bothered folk organizations, as they deemed they had been incessantly working to collect and disseminate folklore with much lower institutional support. That same year, ten folk ensembles—of which four belonged to SF Coros y Danzas and another two to the Leisure section of the Vertical Union, "Educación y Descanso"—

"beg" ("suplican") the Deputación to recognize their merits and include their repertoire in the Escuela de Música y Danza, which was about to be created (2).[23]

By and large, Rey de Viana partook in a tradition that began with the Sociedad del Folk-Lore and encompassed intellectuals who served centralist interests without indulging Galician sovereigntist aspirations. Additionally, the Irmandades, which tried to popularize the phenomenon of Coros Galegos and even embraced the avant-garde to modernize the performing arts, still fell under the reign of *costumbrismo*, contributing to strengthening stereotypes about rural Galiza. Toward Rey de Viana's final days as a dancer, he did manage to institutionalize an idea of what Galician ballet should be, allegedly crystallizing Bal y Gay's proposal for an autochthonous ballet, but ignoring more crucial measures like a profound study of both vernacular and avant-garde outputs and schools.

3.2 Fighting Flamenco in Diplomatic Missions under the Franco Regime

"Una escuela de este tipo, única en España, solamente tiene el precedente en la Escuela Popular Rusa (Ballet Moiseiew [sic]), Escuela Nacional de Danza Popular de Hungría, o en la Escuela Popular Nacional de Mejico" (Comisión de Educación, Deportes y Turismo 2). In these terms, the Deputación de A Coruña placed its Escuela at the same level as other national projects. The mentioned ensembles belonged to nation-states, while the institution that funded

[23] The truth is that when choosing section directors —all male—for the Escuela de Música, the Deputación Provincial did not consider the tasks carried out by local associations, and appointed musicologists from different areas as section directors: Laureano Álvarez Martínez as director de Canto y Danza Popular; Rogelio Leonardo Bouza de Música Instrumental; and José López Calo de Estudio e Investigación. The choice of these three directors continues the practice instituted by Rey de Viana of combining folk and academic music without those in charge having strong roots on any of the two branches. None of them had any real connection to vernacular music or the folk paradigm. Álvarez Martínez did not have any academic background and trained himself as a music critic. It is striking the case of López Calo, whose expertise focused on liturgical music, an artistic area far away from the vernacular archived he was entrusted with. Finally, Leonardo Bouza, the author of a treaty about the art of playing the bagpipe, had up until that point excelled on the conduction of civil bands ("Semblanza").

the Escuela was within a provincial demarcation intended to represent all Galicians in a very centralized Spanish state: the Deputación Provincial. How did the institution intervene in Rey de Viana's goal to make his ballet famous worldwide?

I posit that it simply did not. The Deputación was merely a front to provide Rey de Viana with institutional recognition and fiduciary support. The choreographer sought to transform Galician folklore into what he conceived as a "universal" art qualified to compete along other national folk ensembles, preferably on cosmopolitan stages. In so doing, Rey de Viana wanted to represent Spain as a whole based on the idea that the Celtic—and Galiza as Spanish Celtic reservoir— should unseat flamenco as the worthiest national icon. In this section, I examine how Franco's Spain encouraged Rey de Viana's venture as a way to appease some dissident voices in exile and to counter the renewal of nationalist aspirations within the peninsula. This "taxonomical control over difference," in Arjun Appadurai's words, was possible because the Ballet Gallego became a diplomatic agent. As Appadurai frames it, nation-states controlled ideas of difference "by creating various kinds of international spectacle to domesticate difference; and by seducing small groups with the fantasy of self-display on some sort of global or cosmopolitan stage" (304).

When questioned about the origins of his ensemble, Rey de Viana highlighted his ambition to build a Galician ballet that could be recognized outside the country: "Soñaba con darle a mi tierra un ballet de rango internacional. No he querido seguir los pasos de nadie, sino crear mi propia originalidad, aquello que sentía, creía, pensaba que se podía realizar y que faltaba dentro del mundo de la danza" (Gorlero 27). He gestured towards the achievement of what Ramón Piñeiro would call Galician prestige. And so Rey de Viana hoped that Galician folklore would go through the same appropriation process flamenco had undergone during the Franco

regime. A former member of the Ballet Gallego, Carlos Cortón, also insisted on making this comparison: "Nada tiene que envidiar el Ballet Gallego a los mejores conjuntos profesionales del viejo mundo. Galicia, luz y sombra, alegría y nostalgia, vida y muerte, todo en íntima unión, en apretada trama" (511). Despite being from Mexico, Hungary, and the Soviet Union, i.e., peripheral cultures, the folk ballet companies mentioned above had achieved what Rey de Viana dreamed of for his folkloric troupe: cosmopolitan acceptance and global recognition as representatives of their nation-states.

In studying the folk ensembles that flourished during the Cold War decades, Anthony Shay has concluded that "a Cultural Cold War served as a proxy for a hot war: ballet dancers and athletes would be the troops on the ground of both sides, rather than the armies and weaponry of the USSR and the United States engaging directly" (*The Igor Moiseyev Dance Company* 82). Political scientists questioned a definition of power based on the countries' strength in war rather than technology, education, and economic growth. As Joseph Nye states, "[p]roof of power lies not in resources but in the ability to change the behavior of states" (155). In practice, soft power would depend on one country's ability to impact other countries, set an agenda, and disseminate ideas. This policy encompasses intangible resources such as culture, ideology, and institutions that played a prominent role during the Soviet era (166-167).

In this scenario, the Igor Moiseyev Dance Company, whose steps Rey de Viana claimed to follow, had gotten Stalin's blessing, a fact that consequently contributed to its success. Although Moiseyev was trained, danced, and choreographed in the Bolshoi Ballet, he was very critical of the company as, according to him, the ballet it produced was divorced from Soviet reality. In Moiseyev's view, ballet carried aristocratic implications, while a folk-staged dance would couple better with Marxist precepts under the Soviet regime. Thus, on October 7, 1937,

against the backdrop of Stalin's Great Retreat,[24] Igor Moiseyev's State Academic Ensemble of Folk Dances of the Peoples of the Soviet Union, known as The Igor Moiseyev Dance Company, performed for the first time, bridging classical ballet and folk repertoire. A year earlier, he had proposed Soviet authorities to create a dance company to stage folk dances of the Soviet peoples, and he had obtained Vyacheslav Molotov's praise (*The Igor Moiseyev Dance Company* 120). Among the innovations he applied to his ensemble was the Stanislavsky method (109), coming down from Aleksander Gorsky's tradition. Gorsky, along with Kas'ian Goleizosvsky and Michael Fokine,[25] had brought Russian ballet to the fore of the twentieth-century performing arts.

To this effect, many amateur ensembles became professional under the auspices of the Soviet state, while the government ensured and supervised the study of folklore. Anthony Shay considers that Moiseyev "had the largest share of anyone in shaping the model and format of how these folk dance ensembles would appear" (*The Igor Moiseyev Dance Company* 116). Shay also points out that fieldwork conducted by Moiseyev to prepare a *dekada* was not an ethnochoreological excursion in search of some authenticity,[26] but rather "the nineteenth-century classical composer mining field material for a fragment of a folk tune, which he would then alter almost beyond recognition for a symphony orchestra" (117).

[24] The Great Retreat was a political campaign to promote Russian identity and traditions (Shay, *The Igor Moiseyev Dance Company* 73).
[25] Michel Fokine (1880-1942) was one of the most important choreographers of ground-breaking ballet company Sergei Diaghilev's Ballets Russes. Under Fokine's professional choreographies, folk-derived and academic dance came to terms to foster a ballet assemblage, a *genre nouveau*, that had been cultivated since the nineteenth century, but that reached its peak under Fokine's active years (10). Thus, the primitive, the natural movement inaugurated a new choreograph and perform ballet.
[26] A *dekada* were ten-day festivals in which ethnic groups from the different Republics of the Soviet Union performed in Moscow in the Bolshoi Theater. According to historian Michael Rouland the "dekada thus seemed to legitimize Soviet imperial aggression and the subjugation of so-called autonomous regions, but such polarizing terms obscure the actual complexities and realities of the situation" (qtd. in 116).

In 1958, Moiseyev's Company arrived in the West, becoming a diplomat for the Stalinist cause; Stalin himself in turn enjoyed the troupe very much (Shay, *The Igor Moiseyev Dance Company* 72-73; 67). On the occasion of the Ballet Gallego's absorption by the Deputación, M. Diez-Crespo wrote a chronicle in *El Alcázar* newspaper reporting that Moiseyev would have praised Rey de Viana's accomplishments with his ballet—while blatantly ignoring Victoria Canedo's role in the company—despite its low cost: "Moiseyev, el director del ballet folklórico nacional ruso, le decía a Rey de Viana que dicho ballet cuesta a la URSS muchos millones al año. Y se asombraban de esa monumental humanidad de nuestro maestro gallego, solo, y llegando a una perfección suprema en tan difícil arte" (Díez-Crespo). Rey de Viana tried to compare himself to Moiseyev, rhetorically locating his company at the same level as the Soviet colossus. In an interview with the right-wing newspaper *ABC* in 1971, the choreographer reckoned: "El 'Ballet' de Moiseyev abarca muchas regiones de la URSS. Y, sin embargo, una sola región como la nuestra tiene más riqueza folklórica de la que ellos disponen. Claro que, ni lo pretendemos ni lo hemos dicho jamás, nosotros no queremos hacernos pasar por los representantes de la danza universal" (Olano, "El gran éxito" 43).

The Ballet Folklórico de Mexico, directed by Amalia Hernández Navarro, was another name mentioned in the Deputación's memo about the Ballet Gallego's cosmopolitan precedents. Hernández Navarro was from Mexico City and a wealthy military and political family. Her father built a private studio to provide her with classical ballet and modern dance lessons, as she became the pupil of some of the most prominent dancers of the time, such as Hypolite Sybine and flamenco dancer "La Argentina" Antonia Mercé y Luque (Shay, *Choreographic Politics* 91).[27] In 1952 she formed a group of eight women dancers, who performed for a television

[27] Pursuant to Idoia Murga's study about the *Edad de Plata*, "'La Argentina' manifestó durante toda su carrera un gran interés por exhibir sus danzas estilizadas basadas en los bailes regionales españoles, como demuestra su

program called “Gala Performance.” That year is also considered the founding date of the Ballet Folklórico. Sometime later, in 1959, the company reached one of its significant successes as they traveled to Chicago to represent Mexico in the Pan-American Games. By then it was a much bigger company with fifty dancers (93).

Eventually, in 1964, Amalia Hernández made the exact opposite move to Rey de Viana’s; she decided to privatize the Ballet Folklórico—although it still holds the government imprimatur and Mexico City is the company’s primary sponsor—“to keep the fortunes of the company securely in her own hands and those of her family” (Shay, *Choreographic Politics* 94). At present, the company is still very much a family affair, and some of the López-Hernández family members make a living out of it.

Both Moisevey’s company and Hernández’s folk ballet are examples of theatrical dance, which assembled aspects of other dance genres such as ballet or modern dance to transform folk steps into a spectacular show. Anthony Shay also notes that

> many of the choreographic creations of several of these state ensembles have not descended from traditional folk dance but from the dance form that in classical ballet is known as “character dance,” which Arkin and Smith characterize as “folk-derived.” In nineteenth-century character dance, Arkin and Smith observe, “anecdotal evidence suggests that folk dances were ‘balleticized.’” I would go a step further and point out that the steps and movements of character dance often have no connection with dance in the field, and yet ballet character dance characterizes the bulk of choreographic output of such twentieth-century folk dance companies as the Moiseyev Dance Company. (Shay, *Choreographic Politics* 15)

correspondencia con maestros de danzas vascas o el álbum de recortes con trajes de las regiones de España que fue recopilando a lo largo de su vida” (108).

Meanwhile, the abstraction imposed by the bodies' movement along with a taste for easily recognizable identity features—which emerged from a process of fetishization of nuanced cultural differences—resulted in a tool of soft power instrumental in times of international distress. Such a political operation takes place at the expense of these folk troupes. While abroad, the folk ensembles could show off their artistic value by performing a sense of national success in front of hostile eyes in a contentious international environment. Their visual representation also brought forth the idea that cultural differences—particularly those embodied by ethnic and minority groups—could be politically recognized by being displayed artistically and aesthetically on stage: "Politicians fostered the illusion that such representation could be equated with political and social participation in the nation-state" (Shay, *Choreographic Politics* 31).

Like Rey de Viana, folk ensemble conductors of the Cold War period were not always choreographers or dancers themselves; they often lacked "basic professional performing skills required for the company members." Instead, those leaders had in common that their companies' success in the context of the Cultural Cold War was "a vision and a driving force to fulfill the mission of the company—a mission and a vision that they have largely created or shaped. Each of these men and women held a fervent belief that traditional/folk dance and music was the most positive and effective vehicle for the representation of his or her nation-state" (Shay, *Choreographic Politics* 228). In the particular case of the Ballet Gallego, this is even more certain as its goal was to represent the Spanish nation-state by limiting Galician national differences to regional particularities perfectly suited to become the emblem of the Franco Regime abroad.[28]

[28] The topic of Iberian socio-historical differences as ornamental has been thoroughly studied by Carmen Ortiz, who argued that during the Franco regime: "se resume en la expresión de pluralidad de dialectos (nunca lenguas), usos y costumbres, músicas, fiestas y trajes regionales, en los que se manifiesta verdaderamente 'el pueblo español' (o su

By late 1966, the Moiseyev Dance Company visited Spain to participate in the Festivales de España, an event in which Manuel Fraga Iribarne involved himself deeply while in charge of the Tourism cabinet. The Festivales de España transformed public spaces into stages to display Francoist soft power. They were created in 1954 after the Festival de Granada and the Festival Internacional de Santander enjoyed great success (Sanz-Diaz and Morales Tamar, "National Flamencoism" 214). The Festival de Santander experienced an unprecedented event, since the Orquesta Nacional traveled to the provincial town to perform there. At the time, Ataulfo Argenta, from Castro Urdiales (Cantabria) and very fond of his region, was the Orquesta's conductor. The Orquesta moved to Santander for the Festival, breaking with a strongly centralist cultural policy (Sanz-Cruz 191). The *Planes Nacionales de Festivales de España* then became an important tool of Francoist diplomacy, "consisting of annual summer campaigns that took place in several Spanish cities for some days or weeks and encompassing a wide range of dance, music, and theatre shows, together with lectures and art exhibitions" (Sanz Díazand Morales Tamaral, "Selling a Dictatorship" 39).

The Festivales' budgets shot up from 4-5 million *pesetas* per year in the 1950s to 50 million a decade later, which gives a glimpse of the Franco government's support of this policy (Sanz Díazand Morales Tamaral, "Selling a Dictatorship" 47). And, in due time, there were hundreds of festivals taking place all over the country. Some were deemed more important than others. Enrique de la Hoz, a journalist and a Franco state's civil servant, who was director of the Festivales de España from 1962 to 1969, pointed out that the festival of A Coruña received

genio o su alma), sin más divisiones, o con tantas versiones locales que no es fácil encontrar la manifestación cultural concreta, adscrita a una comunidad histórica o culturalmente definida" (3).

special treatment since Manuel Fraga Iribarne was from Galiza and he wanted the event to sparkle.

The *Plan de Festivales* responded to two significant needs identified by Franco's cabinet: "Domestically, the FE [Festivales de España] sought to bring so-called educated art forms to the lower strata of Spanish society, as was the case with other contemporary European dictatorships" (Sanz Díazand Morales Tamaral, "National Flamencoism" 215). Meanwhile, at an international level, they courted other governments' acceptance of the Franco regime. A third goal might even have been implemented, as the Ministry expected the Festivales de España to attract foreign tourists to Spanish soil. Thus, when choosing locations to carry out the festivals, sites with "Spanish flavor" in touristic regions were preferred, particularly the eastern Costa Brava and the southern Costa del Sol (Sanz Díazand Morales Tamaral, "Selling a Dictatorship" 44). To raise the stages, the Festivales' organizers picked the most emblematic sites, preferably outdoors (i.e., gardens, main squares, in front of monuments), and left behind plain theaters (Santa-Cruz 197), another element that strengthened their touristic qualities. The festivals often lasted a week, and they could feature some or all of the standard cycles—music, opera, zarzuela, theater plays, foreign ballet, and *ballet español*. Each cycle was comprised of different shows with up to three performances scheduled for each show (Goldbach 48).

Paradoxically, the Festivales de España are much in debt to Latin American cultural projects. Enrique de la Hoz had been on leave working with various Latin American cultural institutions. In Colombia, for instance, he witnessed how a priest managed to conduct pedagogical activities to educate the Colombian subaltern through radio programs by placing a radio device in the most humble rural homes. The priest broadcast simple lectures, music, and theater plays that reached the most hidden corners, an enterprise that Enrique de la Hoz

associated with the Festivales: "un buen día me pregunté ¿por qué no hacer lo mismo en España, en la medida en que el país lo permita? Se trataba de llevar la cultura donde no estaba. Y, si bien es cierto que aquí no había inditos [sic], también lo es que existían muchos pueblos y ciudades carentes de los más mínimos vehículos culturales" (qtd. in Santa-Cruz 190).

It can be argued that the Festivales were a new chapter of the task inaugurated by the Misiones Pedagógicas during the Spanish Republic, and then continued by Sección Femenina's Cátedras Ambulantes, only that this time the process was more elitist, and the target audience focused on urban areas instead of barely reachable peninsular towns. In fact, the Festivales de España fell short in their purpose to re-educate subaltern classes. In an article published in *ABC*, journalist Enrique del Corral complained that Moiseyev's Company had been repeatedly advertised on television although most people could never attend its performances:

> ¿Por qué anunciarlos reiteradamente en Televisión? Televisión lo que puede y debe hacer es 'dar' esos Festivales de España en directo o diferido. Y no esto de llevar, incluso a su pantalla al señor Moiseyev para que hable de su 'ballet' de Danzas Populares Rusas: hay que llevar al 'ballet' de Danzas Populares Rusas para que 'hablen' para todos los españoles. . . . El clasismo de los privilegiados que, por vivir donde actúan o poder ir a verlos actuar, pueden darse esa satisfacción. Los demás, todos los demás, que son legión millonaria, que se aguanten. (Del Corral 91)

Robles Piquer, director-general of popular culture and entertainment, and also Fraga's brother-in-law, had a notion of what a *ballet español* should look like: "a cultivated product rooted in popular tradition, traditional dances and clothing, and the experience of its typical values" (qtd. in Sanz Díazand Morales Tamaral, "National Flamencoism" 216). Of course, Rey de Viana

could perfectly fit in such a vague notion and as a matter of fact it did, by becoming included in the programs of the Festivales de España, as I shall analyze later in this section.

Fraga's departure from the Ministry of Information and Tourism in 1969 meant the decadence of the Festivales, which started suffering due to the commercial turn in which the whole country was immersed. Still, Rey de Viana continued seeking to participate in them, as they had been one of the few non-flamenco companies of so-called *ballet español* that participated in the Festivales de España, along with the Ballet de Joan Tena, and a few others. In 1974, Rey de Viana traveled to Madrid to talk Pío Cabanillas, the new Minister of Information and Tourism, and Juan José Rosón, general-director of Radio Broadcasting and Television, into including the Ballet Gallego in the Festivales de España, as well as in a TV program dedicated to the Ballet (Letter to Ángel Porto Anido). In April, the Deputación received a positive response. However, the Ministry exempted itself from guaranteeing a minimum number of performances to the Galician ensemble. They simply distributed the artists' dossiers among the corporations and entities that celebrated the Festivales de España, and it was left to the organizers' criteria whether to choose the Ballet Gallego or not (Teatros Nacionales). In the Galician sovereigntist newspaper *A Nosa Terra,* in 1978, a retrospective analysis of Ballet Gallego's career highlighted the Festivales' politics of social difference: "tiveron 'carta branca' todos eses ballets que, protexidos polos estamentos oficiáis, empezaron a encher a programación dos 'Festivales de España,' que foron o resultado lóxico dos plantexamentos elitistas de Madrid: ballets prás grandes cidades; vilas e aldeas, nada" (Rodríguez Andrade 19).

The Festivales de España also opened the door for Moiseyev's Dance Company to perform on Spanish soil. As Robles Piquer explained to Fraga, "it is useful to have communists around when dollars are required" (qtd. in Sanz Díazand Morales Tamaral, "National

Flamencoism" 222). In September 1966, during his stay in Zaragoza, Igor Moiseyev and some members of his troupe tackled Spanish folklore by imitating the steps of the Aragonese *jota* ("El Ballet Soviético" 17). The exact process of glamorization that I presented in the previous two chapters occurs in the dissemination of this anecdote. By showing interest in the *jota*, Moiseyev, one of the most critical and recognized dancers of folkloric ballet in the world, brought this character dance to the international arena and his repertoire. Although the news seems anecdotal, Moiseyev was neutralizing the *jota*'s carnival potential—in Mikhail Bakhtin's sense—and giving it the power of a cultural fetish, ready to be exported by fascist authorities.[29] Although the *jota* had its internal rules, the lack of technical complexity that made it communal somehow suspended temporality and social hierarchies, as folk carnival did. Conversely, by turning into one more of Moiseyev's steps, the *jota* immediately acquired commodity value in the international market.

The "Operación América" was settled a year later, in 1967. It was the second time the Festivales de España crossed borders since, in 1964, the "Operación Festivales" displaced Mariemma, a Spanish flamenco dancer, to Germany so she could perform in front of Spanish migrants, with unexpected success (Sanz Díaz and Morales Tamaral, "Selling a Dictatorship" 54-55). This time, the protagonist of "Operación América" was the Ballet Gallego, which Fraga used to increase "Spanish cultural and economic projection (or 'cooperation') on South America" (55). The Ballet Gallego's tour lasted almost a month, from October 14th first performing in Montevideo to November 9th in Santiago de Chile; throughout this period, Rey de

[29] To Bakhtin's mind, during the Middle Ages, the carnival was a time of renewal through which all previous life conditions were suspended. He maintained: "The suspension of all hierarchical precedence during carnival time was of particular significance . . . . all were considered equal during carnival. Here, in the town square, a special form of free and familiar contact reigned among people who were usually divided by the barriers of caste, property, profession, and age. The hierarchical background and the extreme corporative and caste divisions of the medieval social order were exceptionally strong. Therefore such free, familiar contacts were deeply felt and formed an essential element of the carnival spirit" (10).

Viana's dance company visited the most prominent and populated cities of the Southern Cone: Montevideo, Buenos Aires, Río de Janeiro and Santiago (55). The Galician Ballet's tour in the Americas also contributed to softening tensions between Galician and other Spanish diasporas in the American continent, built by Republican exiles. For example, the Spanish embassies of Montevideo, Buenos Aires, and Santiago de Chile "offered receptions to local colonies, which in many cases were organised in cultural centers and associations hostile to the dictatorship" (56).[30]

The Ballet Gallego also partook in the activities prepared by the cultural delegation sent over to the New York World Fair. The Fair became a space to reimagine Spanish history, culture, and identity from the standpoint of the leisure industry (Fernández Cebrián 36). According to a chronicle written by Galician exile Ernesto Guerra Da Cal,[31] the Ballet Gallego's performance in the Fair was a complete success: "[El Ballet Gallego] ha causado en el público desde su aparición al inaugurarse la Feria, grandes y boqueabiertos Ohs! y Ahs! maravillados. Y no es para menos, ya que nos parece que es la primera vez que se presenta un espectáculo de esta naturaleza en relación con las artes de la danza de una región ibérica que no sea Andalucía" (Guerra da Cal 1).[32]

Guerra da Cal seems to have fostered the Galaxian discourse, according to which by turning Galicia into a spectacle, Galiza became more valuable. In his manifesto about consumer society, Guy Debord notices that visibility equates value regardless of the use the commodity in question might actually have. Debord articulates in point 17 that "[t]he present stage, in which

[30] Paradoxically, although Ballet Gallego's cultural strategy perfectly fit Ramón Piñeiro's ambitions, the relationship between the Galaxia team and the community of exiles in Buenos Aires was strained, as they had different views on how to define Galician culture (see Pablo García Martínez's Chapter 7 for an insight on the debate between Piñeiros's "filosofía da saudade" and the exiles' nostalgia for the lost freedom in their homeland).
[31] Guerra da Cal was a Galician philologist at Queens College (CUNY) in New York City who fled Spain after fighting against fascist troops as part of the *Milicias Populares Galegas* during the Spanish Civil War.
[32] A handwritten note on Guerra da Cal's document reveals that Radio Nacional de España and other provincial radio stations broadcasted the chronicle.

social life has become completely occupied by the accumulated productions of the economy, is bringing about a general shift from *having* to *appearing*—all 'having' must now derive its immediate prestige and its ultimate purpose from appearances" (5; emphasis in the original). Following the logic of Debord's manifesto, Galiza's differentiating territory would only be worth existing if it also existed on stages or screens; and this promising idea haunted the imagination of Francoists and Galician nationalists and regionalists alike. Additionally, Guerra da Cal praised Rey de Viana's trajectory and saw in his public persona an example of Galician psychology:

> Un hombre benemérito y artista integral, el Sr. Rey de Viana, formado en la escuela alemana del ballet europeo, con reservas inagotables de fervor y entusiasmo, con una viva conciencia de galleguidad y conocimiento profundo y polifacético de la milenaria y misteriosa tradición galaica, que se pierde en la noche céltica, arremetió solo—con la devota ayuda de su esposa,—la recreación plástica de esa tradición con un fino sentido de coetanea [sic] jerarquía estética. (2; emphasis in the original)

The text concludes that both Galiza and Spain ought to be congratulated: "Galicia por esta prueba de su inequívoca plenitud, iniciada por el renacimiento lingüístico-cultural del siglo XIX y España por estar representada en la Feria mundial por una parte de esa Galica renacida, consciente ya de su irrenunciable personalidad histórica" (3). Guerra Da Cal situated Rey de Viana in the nineteenth-century Rexurdimento's line of succession. Albeit the enthusiasm of the Galician exiled community at Galician national difference being recognized abroad thanks to the Ballet Gallego, I posit that other political operations were at stake. Indeed, Rey de Viana wanted to ennoble Galician folk culture and transform it into a "universal" genre, following a Eurocentric notion of what performing arts and music should be in order to become classic.

However, Rey de Viana's ultimate purpose was to grow Galician folk culture into a representative of Spanish culture, replacing flamenco as Spanish most popular dance abroad.

In distinction to what emerged from Coros y Danzas's internal correspondence about exiles' negative response to that group—analyzed in Chapter 1—Galician republicans in exile and other émigrés seemed to be pleased at the Ballet Gallego's performances and success. A letter sent by Ramón Rodríguez, a member of Casa Galicia in New York, to Manuel Fraga Iribarne corroborates political dissidents' acceptance of Rey de Viana. Still, this letter reinforces the notion that Rey de Viana's shows depicted Galiza as a synecdoche of Spanish identity:

> El 'Ballet Gallego,' ese juvenil conjunto que la Patria nos envía con el mensaje de su espíritu, fué capaz de destruir la muralla que dividía dos sectores de españoles que por igual aman a España; una barrera que se mantenía en pié a pesar de 25 años de propaganda y diplomacia, cuyos resultados, hace tan solo tres meses, fueron negativos al no conseguir que ni uno solos [sic] de los hijos expatriados sintiesen la premura de su vuelta a la Patria a pesar de amarla intensamente.

In his letter, Rodríguez confesses that the Ballet Gallego is "reconquering" Spain's children, evoking the rhetoric of the Medieval Reconquista of southern Muslim lands by warriors from the North. He asserts that the ballet made such an impression on him that in a month, he is returning to the peninsula for the first time since he left. However, as inferred from the letter, Galician distinctiveness lacks any political demarcation, and it is a mere lure to attract people to Francoist Spain.

Despite the success Ballet Gallego enjoyed among the Galician community of New York City, the World Fair's most rewarded genre was still flamenco: "Las destacadas actuaciones de Manuela Vargas, o Manuel Díaz Cano (guitarrista) en el pabellón español y el éxito cosechado

favoreció la presencia de numerosos músicos en los siguientes años en Estados Unidos" (Lillo Espada 297). The promotion of a certain type of flamenco during the Franco regime came to be known as *nacionalflamenquismo*. Scholar Theresa Goldbach describes *nacionalflamenquismo* as "[a] conflation of flamenco with other Spanish national genres, an exaggeration of flamenco costuming, and an overly commercialized interpretation of the genre" (1, n1). The notion echoes, in the field of cultural studies, the term *nacionalcatolicismo* that historians used to describe the way in which the Franco regime based Spanish identity on Catholicism (Sanz Díaz and Morales Tamaral, "National Flamencoism" 210). On the other hand, José Martínez Hernández confines the term "nacionalflamenquismo" to the genres of "copla" and "cuplé aflamencado,"[33] while arguing that during the dictatorship genuine flamenco only blossomed in the fifties thanks to Edgard Neville's film *Duende y misterio del arte flamenco* (1952), which broke with the topics established by folkloric films, as well as to Hispavox's edition of *Antología del Cante Flamenco* (1954), followed by other anthologies on the matter (69).

The Spanish elite, particularly *señoritos*, had long appropriated flamenco, and the Franco regime relied on that tradition to develop its cultural diplomacy inside and outside the peninsula. During the nineteenth century, the tradition of *cafés cantantes* put an allegedly frivolous type of flamenco spectacle on stage. Some authors of the *Generación del 98* explicitly rejected flamenco, popularizing Antonio Machado's verse "España de charanga y pandereta" (Pantaleoni 191). Samuel Llano also explains how *flamenquismo* was linked to social disorder as the genre expanded throughout the *café cantantes* in nineteenth-century Madrid: "[F]lamenco quickly became a powerful entertainment industry that offered professional opportunities and its practice

[33] No doubt, Francoism supported a commercial type of flamenco marketable outside Spain as shown by films such as *Carmen de Triana* (1938) and *Suspiros de España* (1939), but also particularly well-known *cantaoras* and *bailaoras*, Carmen Amaya, Luisillo, Lola Flores, and Concha Piquer (Lillo Espada 292). The latter two became famous singers of *copla*, often labeled as flamenco.

helped establish ethnic bonds among marginalized groups, such as Andalusian immigrants and Gypsies" (*Discordant Notes* 13). Overall, *flamenco* was considered a "deviant" style embodied by marginalized people (13).

Moreover, the Andalusian and flamenco school had served to accommodate a particular image of Spain abroad through orchestral composition, verging on exotization of the whole Spanish culture: examples are Mikhail Glinka's *Jota Aragonesa* (1845) and *A Night in Madrid* (1848-1851), Georges Bizet's *Carmen* (1875), Emmanuel Chabrier's *Rapsodie España* (1883), Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov's *Capriccio Espagnol* (1887), Claude Debussy's Prelude "La Port du Vin" (1910), or Maurice Ravel's *Alborada del gracioso* (1919). However, Idoia Murga believes that the flamenco myth and the Spanish stereotypes of "la españolada" emerged during the nineteenth century, and had their cradle in the Parisian society. In this way, Spanish topics permeated the fine arts of Manet, Degas, Courbet, and Bonnard. Along with the crisis of 1898 and the loss of the last colonies, this tendency to exoticize the Spanish culture fostered the *España negra*, a myth that showed a backward country plunged into misery and illiteracy (131).

Similarly, in *Whose Spain?*, Samuel Llano argues that at the turn of the century, French musicians and critics constructed an image of Spain as a cultural Other also embodied by Spanish composers such as Manuel de Falla or Enrique Granados. For Llano, the French idea of Spanish music is not just a product of French nationalism. Many of the most successful Spanish composers actively contributed to perpetuating this exotic and peripheral image of Spanish music (238). Thus, Paris became a place supplied with infrastructures that granted composers the capacity to produce relevant music by transforming raw vernacular productions into sophisticated pieces of fine art. In this fashion, Julien Tierot, a French musicologist, believed that Bizet's *Carmen* would be an example of the good French cultural institutions could do to

Spanish music. Samuel Llano maintains that "Frenchifying" *Carmen* amounted to "de-gypsyfying it," erasing racial differences "so as to turn Spain into a close cultural periphery of France" (184). The connection between the Roma people and flamenco initially located the genre at the margins, and therefore it required a racial cleansing process that reached its greatest heights during Francoism.

The outbreak of the Spanish Civil War put an end to flamenco's heyday, and some of the most prominent dancers fled the country, Encarnación López Júlvez "La Argentinita," and her sister, Pilar López, Antonio and Rosario, as well as Carmen Amaya. During their time in exile, flamenco became known in the Americas, and they even got the chance to perform in Hollywood movies (Goldbach 45). This was the breeding ground for the "ballet español" as those artists returned to Francoist Spain bringing stylistic transformations: "Shows typically had various sections representing certain Spanish genres: *escuela bolera* (usually *a panaderos,* the *Sonatas* by Padre Soler, or selections from *zarzuelas* such as *Las bodas de Luis Alonso* or *Doña Francisquita*), regional folk dance (*jotas, bailes vascos,* or *seguidillas*), almost always a version of [Falla's] *El amor brujo* or another Spanish symphonic piece, and a *cuadro flamenco*" (46). Some of the artists associated with this genre were Mariemma, Antonio (without Rosario), Pilar López, and Luisillo Pérez Dávila.

The resurgence of the flamenco industry during *desarrollismo* spurred foreign and domestic *aficionados* to ponder the genre's origins: "Many insisted on its Arab pedigree, others on liturgical or Jewish influences, and for many, as for [José Carlos de] Luna and [José] Amaya, the Gypsies were the key to understanding its origins" (Charnon-Deutsch 219). Discourses on the origins of flamenco debate whether Antonio Machado Álvarez "Demófilo"'s thesis that *Gitanxs* were the trunk of the flamenco tree—later furthered by Federico García Lorca and Manuel de

Falla—was true.[34] Flamenco historian William Washabaugh believes that Antonio Mairena, the alleged savior of purist flamenco, reinvented *Gitanx* ethnicity through the genre "in a sanctifying history of Gitano persecution and passion, and topped it off with a beatific picture of the Gitano as linchpin of Andalusian cultural life" (78). This image accorded with the nineteenth-century exotic view of Spain as Other while associating flamenco to marginalized communities.

Flamenco scholar Jesús López-Peláez Casellas delves deeper into pro-*Gitanx* rhetoric by adding that "true flamenco. . . . has always manifested a concern for the outcasts of society, a social sense of the wrongs of the world, and of the injustices suffered by Gypsies at the hands of gachós (non-Gypsies), even if these expressions of anger and frustration were not, until the mid-20th century, given clear political form" (198). Nonetheless, while appropriating flamenco, the Franco regime always tried to empty it of its Andalusian content, at a political and cultural level, through social centralization and homogenization (203). As a result, negotiations took place concerning the ethnic heritage of flamenco and *Gitanx* rhetoric's association with flamenco performances. Although some members of Franco's cabinet tried to convey an aristocratized image of the Andalusian Gypsy (Charnon-Deutsch 219), others were not happy about this racial representation of Spanish people abroad; therefore, a more European image of the Spanish race, such as the Celtic one, would do better for their interests. As shown by a public call to design the national advertising plan of the Ministry of Information and Tourism in 1953, mentioned above, Spain was encouraged to resign itself to the *españolada* and the *España de pandereta* populated by Gypsies in order to attract visitors (see Holguín 522; Pack 69). Despite this resignation, Lou Charnon-Deutsch maintains that "a gradual impetus to dissociate the two [Gypsies and flamenco dance] and portray flamenco as a national music form that was *agitanado* or 'Gypsified'. . . by

[34] For a view of the contentious history of the notion see Washabaugh's Chapter 4.

gifted Calé performers and adapters has been the predominant trend in the twentieth century" (206).

The Ballet Gallego Rey de Viana did not miss the chance to depict flamenco performers as a racial Other while pointing to alleged Galician Celtic roots. When referring to the Ballet Gallego's participation in the Venice Folk Dance Festival in 1961, Vázquez de Parga says: "Para un público extranjero, también resultaba sorprendente el hecho de que aquellos españoles *no bailaban taconeado flamenco de los gitanos andaluces*. Por el contrario, giraban y danzaban al ritmo de las muiñeiras de su región de origen, Galicia, y de otros bailes galaicos. El acompañamiento lo proporcionaban las gaitas, no las guitarras, y los bailarines representaban las alegrías y sufrimientos del *milenario pueblo celta*" (1; my emphasis). When confronting Andalusian Gypsies with the millenary Celtic people, the official telling reduced the Roma people to mere commoners with no history or social rank while placing Galicians in the European Celtic tradition, whose antiquity authorized their superiority over other lineages.

In an interview in *ABC*, José Manuel Rey de Viana confessed that he sent a letter to Fraga Iribarne in 1966 to suggest the creation of a "Ballet Popular Nacional de España" (Zuloaga 123). This idea came up again in 1971, in another interview wherein Rey de Viana expressed his desire to form a Spanish Dance Company that would congregate all forms of traditional dance and music from the different Spanish territories, to depose flamenco as Spanish national dance. José Manuel Rey de Viana's fixation with flamenco led him to speculate the Galician origin of the genre, without missing the chance to highlight the Celtic substrate as point of origin of all vernacular productions in Galiza. In this way, he also acted to divorce the narrative of flamenco from the Gypsies, without ethnographic research to back his premise:

> Hay que desterrar el perjudicial tópico de que las 'danzas de España' son únicamente el flamenco. Y me refiero al flamenco en su definición más pura, no en lo que se expone como flamenco en España y en el mundo entero. España está hoy conociendo su propia danza, que no tiene nada que ver con el flamenco. No es que pretenda yo arrimar el ascua a mi sardina. Hablo con la experiencia que me dan dieciséis años de recorrer el mundo al frente del 'Ballet Gallego' y demostrando que nuestra danza es grande en sí misma. Y que el baile gallego es la verdadera danza española, porque de ella han partido las demás. La 'farruca,' hoy flamenco, es una marcha de guerra gallega de la época de la Reconquista. La castañuela, instrumento del flamenco, es gallega, usada en el tiempo de los celtas. Su uso solamente estaba permitido al hombre. Los golpes dados con las castañuelas explicaban los sentimientos de amor del hombre hacia la mujer. Y por eso golpeaban con el dedo del corazón. Hasta el actual traje de los toreros nació en Galicia... Con ello no menospreciamos las muchas cosas grandes que poseen otras regiones españolas. Pero al César lo que es del César y a Galicia lo que es de Galicia... Nadie crea que pretendemos galleguizar a España. Pero sí hacer saber a nuestros compatriotas que somos hijos de la más vieja y rancia región española. (Olano, "El gran éxito" 45)

Celtic narratives inevitably carry a racist hint. Here Rey de Viana appropriates the racist discourses that predominated in nineteenth-century Galician regionalism, especially in Manuel Murguía's hands and after José Verea y Aguilar's seminal work *Historia de Galicia* (1838). According to Murguía, the patriarch of Galician nationalism, following French historian Augustin Thierry's ideas, Galician historical origins went back to Gaelic Celtic society. Ramón Maiz has found in Murguía's works *Historia de Galicia* (1865) and *Galicia* (1888) influences from Aryanism theories by Gobineau, Gumplowitz, or Chamberlain. Thus, Murguía

disseminated the idea of Galician racial purity and superiority, based not only on physiological descriptions of its population but also on its supposed psychological attributes, the idea of a combative and virile race: "Por el lenguaje, por la religión, por el arte, por la raza está el pueblo gallego ligado a la grande y nobilísima familia ariana" (qtd. in Máiz 158).[35]

Not surprisingly, Rey de Viana also wanted to join the fashion of Galician Celtic culture that bloomed in the 1970s as a marketable label: "El pueblo celta ha estado dormido durante muchos años y, ahora, está viviendo quizás una explosión de todo lo celta porque somos un pueblo con un gran sentimiento, historia, costumbres y tradiciones que son originales dentro del conjunto mundial. Hasta hace muy pocos años, el cliché de España era el de lo flamenco. Nosotros hemos roto con ese cliché en todo el mundo. En una de nuestras visitas a Alemania se dijo que en nuestro ballet se veía la profundidad de las raíces de lo español" (Gorlero 27-28). In line with Michael Dietler, Javier Campos Calvo-Sotelo believes that Celtic music, as a commercial label, not only lacks a social community behind it but can also be seen as a depoliticization tool that neutralizes pragmatic peripheral nationalisms (57). This diagnosis perfectly fits with Rey de Viana's aspirations, as he only saw Galician vernacular production—deemed Celtic—as a commodity without any need for political recognition. Yet, in a rhetorical turn, Rey de Viana casts flamenco as the actual commodity of Spanish merchandising abroad, always speaking from a centralist point of view while downplaying Galician politics:

> ¡Al mundo le estamos una visión de nuestro país totalmente prefabricada y con casi exclusivas miras a la explotación comercial y turística!
>
> A través del folklore andaluz hemos exportado, y seguimos exportando, lo que desde luego no es auténtico; hemos conseguido llegar a un terreno en el que no sabemos dónde

[35] For an insight into Murguía's discourse on race see Máiz.

> empieza y dónde termina lo flamenco. Hemos creado una visión de Andalucía totalmente erótica y esto es un disparate. (Zuloaga 123)

Rey de Viana's ambition was to end the Orientalized and sexualized vision of Spain that the Francoist intelligentsia had embraced for commercial purposes. Instead, he wanted to renegotiate Spain's peripheral position in relation to the centers of cultural power, European and Anglo-Saxon cultures, by forcing a new image onto the Spanish race: the Celtic substrate. Rey de Viana believed that racially, only Galiza could guarantee a European image of Spain, the Celtic one, in contrast to Spanish miscegenation due to its medieval history.[36] At the same time, the gendered connotations that the Celtic culture entailed in terms of docile and sentimental fostered Spanish domestication and colonization of the Galician people. The Ballet Gallego became an autoethnographic phenomenon—to use Mary Louise-Pratt's term (9); that is, through Rey de Viana, Galicians spoke of their own subalternity using the colonizer's codes, describing themselves as docile and sentimental, like the narratives generated by Spanish centralist thinkers did.

To a certain degree, Rey de Viana tried to turn around the process of self-exoticization that Spanish composers had started in Paris at the beginning of the twentieth century. Yet, while Spanish composers from Pedrell to Falla had profited from the exotic image of Spain to access the Parisian cultural center, now Rey de Viana stood to benefit from Galiza's own peripheral condition to become internationally recognized. On the one hand, he purported to be part of the worldwide wave of folk dance ensembles led by Moiseyev's company or Amalia Hernández's Mexican ensemble, two companies that emerged from the world's cultural margins. On the other

[36] Contrary to this assumption, a recent study in the genetics field has shown that "[t]he highest amounts of north African ancestry found within Iberia are in the west (11%) including in Galicia, despite the fact that the region of Galicia as it is defined today (north of the Miño river), was never under Muslim rule and Berber settlements north of the Douro river were abandoned by 741" (Bycroft, Fernandez-Rozadilla et al.).

hand, in this new frame, Rey de Viana's group depended on the Galicians' own subjugation to Spanish interests, a situation that reinforced the very Otherness he wanted to overcome by ousting flamenco. The Galician choreographer agreed to use his company's peripheral cultural value precisely to extricate Spain from its marginality in Europe.

Rey de Viana vindicated Galiza as the cradle of Spanish civilization providing some of the most representative Spanish cultural productions, even flamenco. But he also embraced the Galician colonial situation, contributing to feeding the myth of a sentimental and effeminate Galiza, powerless within the patriarchal political system, while making its cultural memory, historiography, and vernacular production available to the needs of the Franco regime. In the end, it could be argued that the battle between flamenco and Celtic music centered on which gendered and racial Other should Spain become: a sexualized Andalusian or a matriarchal Galician. I will address the latter in the following section.

3.3 Cementing Galician Topos of Subalternity through Performances

Since the turn of the century, the centralist Spanish intelligentsia strove to prop up the colonialist image of a traditional, conformist, and peaceful Galiza, where acts of rebellion were limited to the student *troula* (party) or the *retranca galega* (Galician irony). In this section, I unravel how the projection of a submissive and rualized Galicia, both melancholic and distrustful, stemmed from the imaginary of foreigners before becoming entrenched in the Ballet Gallego mainly through its pantomime shows. I focus particularly on the film *La Casa de la Troya* (1924), the documentary *Galicia y sus gentes: ayer y hoy de las tierras meigas* (1951) and the Ballet Gallego's performance *Poema da Chispa* (1970). Through this focus, this section takes up on the work of Helena Miguélez-Carballeira and Beatriz Busto Miramontes (*Un país a la*

gallega), who have analyzed the image of a sentimental Galiza docile to Spanish colonial interests, and the construction of "Galaiquismo" as a stereotypical image of an exotic Galiza, respectively.

As I pointed out in the first section of this chapter, the way Coros Galegos performed folklore, their costumes, and their orchestral composition greatly influenced the later development of Galician folk music. Cinematographic appearances evidence the Coros Galegos' relevance at the beginning of the twentieth century. *La zarzuela de Maruxa* by Amadeo Vives premiered in Madrid in 1923, while the De Ruada choir performed in the film *La Virgen del Cristal* (1926) directed by Manuel Lois Piñeiro, Saturio Lois Piñeiro and José Buchs, and based on Manuel Curros Enríquez's poem of same title. Cantigas e Agarimos performed in the romería scene of *La Casa de la Troya* (1925) (Jurado 442-443). This film is one more example of the Coros Galegos' ability and success in constructing a ruralized and traditional Galiza that would later be strengthened and exported by the Ballet Gallego, with care to ennoble it and erase any plebeian traces. After all, the Coros Galegos and their *cadros* and *estampas* fully coincided with the tone of Alejandro Pérez Lugín's novel, published in 1915 and transformed into a movie ten years later. This author suggested that Galiza, and Santiago de Compostela in particular, attracted the foreigner "por el imán irresistible de su belleza, de su dulzura y de su amor" (qtd. in Vaquero Arguelés 593).

The adaptation of this novel, which could be considered a "coming of age" narrative or *bildungsroman*, remains quite faithful to the plot and maintains the book's structure with few variations. Of course, Pérez Lugín was, along with Manuel Noriega, the screenwriter and director of the movie, produced by Troya Films. Among the cast that played the movie's protagonists, none are Galician: Carmen Viance (Carmiña), Luis Peña, father (Gerardo), Juan de

Ordula (Augusto Armero) or Pedro Elviro (Pitouto). Although *La casa* is a silent film in black-and-white, this projection of a Galiza narrated without Galicians—who only appear as extras—gives a good account of the author's suppression of the Galician voice's capacity to represent itself.

Pérez Lugín, who had studied in Santiago de Compostela, was from Madrid, even though his mother was Galician and related to Rosalía de Castro's family. The film lasts 168 minutes and portrays the landscape as yet another protagonist. Like the novel, the movie tells the story of Gerardo Roquer, a law student, son of a wealthy merchant who, tired of his dissolute lifestyle in Madrid, sends him to Santiago de Compostela to complete his education. Gerardo Roquer arrives in the provincial city dejected, and convinced that it is an abhorrent place where nothing interesting ever happens. Soon, his classmates (Augusto, Madeira, and Barcala, above all) try to prove him wrong through their *falcatrúas* (wrongdoings) and their parties. In Santiago he meets Carmiña, with whom he falls in love although at first glance he thought her arrogant. Carmiña gets Gerardo to study and to pass his classes. The couple gets engaged, but the sudden death of Carmiña's father forces the girl into the care of her aunt, La Maragota, who will try to destroy the relationship and marry Carmiña to her son Octavio. A series of misunderstandings created by Carmiña's family causes the young couple to distance themselves from each another, but in the end the priest Dámaso helps Carmiña out of her aunt's clutches, to marry Gerardo.

Pérez Lugín constructs the film's sense of Galicianness through several discursive layers: the Galician poetic tradition; colloquial dialect—primarily spoken by students—;[37] and the

[37] María Vaquero Arguelés identifies three linguistic levels in the novel: the first one spoken by the Students with *galeguismos*, the sufix -iño/a, and Galician syntax when speaking Spanish ("Te es la manera de hablar de aquí"); Secondly, the Galician aristocracy's language, full of "expresiones muy elevadas"; and, thirdly, the language attributed to common Galician people full of dialectal expressions as well as phonetic phenomena such as *geada* and *seseo* (594-595).

recreation of allegedly traditional scenes. In the first place, he quotes the poetry of Manuel Curros Enríquez and Rosalía de Castro, two of the most prominent exponents of nineteenth-century Galician Rexurdimento. For example, Carmiña, in a social event, plays the piano and sings the poem "Unha noite na eira do trigo." Curros had written this poem as a student in Madrid, with the title "Unha noite no xardín sentada." His colleague Cesáreo Alonso Salgado listened to it and decided to harmonize it, and subsequently Galician people appropriated it and turned it into a folk song, adapting the lyrics to their reality by turning the garden into a "barn" ("eira do trigo").[38] Bridging common and high culture is a constant in the film, but unlike in Curros's original song, the popular source of every Galician tradition is reduced to mere ornament, to characterize the film and define its setting. Moreover, it is at this *soirée* scene that Gerardo falls in love with Carmiña, seemingly taken by this mixture of folk background and refinement.

Secondly, the use of Galician idioms and words ending with the suffix -iña /o reveals Lugín's ornamental conception of the Galician language. Like the inclusion of canonical poets, the anecdotal use of words in Galician—almost always terms difficult to translate into Spanish—operates in a picturesque and exotic sense. Expressions such as "Galleguilmente" (50:16)—to refer to Carmiña's distrust when she does not want to declare her love to Gerardo until she is sure of his—encapsulate the idea that Galician psychology is distrustful, reserved and, above all, docile. Likewise, the suffix -iña /o ("¡Viva a terriña!") (59:15) as a morphological derivation operates as a diminutive, often in an affectionate way, but also to disparage what it refers to. This infantilization of Galicians' speech contributes to consolidating the idea of a people that must be

[38] For a story of the song and its popularization, see Xoan Carreira's "'Unha noite na eira do trigo.' Controvérsia sobre a súa historia."

disciplined and corrected by authorial voice. Childishness does not here imply potentiality, but rather immaturity.

In the third place, the description of landscape functions as a foundational element of Galicianness. As noted explicitly at the beginning of the film, the landscape is one of the narrative's protagonists. Thus, it portrays not only Santiago de Compostela, but also As Mariñas de Betanzos, Vigo, and Combarro (in Poio, Pontevedra). These are iconic spaces of Galician geography: the film explores Church and University Santiago de Compostela, with its honest and devout high-society women, as well as maritime and coastal landscapes that give Galiza a tragic and undecipherable tone coinciding with the idea of a "terra meiga." But these landscapes are populated by Galicians as extras, as in a scene showing the Feira da Bandeira (Bandeira's Fair). Extras were an essential part of the film as Pérez Lugín expected them to function as decoys to lure people to the film's release in Galiza and that way recover the money invested in the production (Vaquero Argelés 599). The Fair scene displays an intertextuality between the written and the visual, combining images of a letter sent to Gerardo by his friend Madeira with shots of the marketplace. While this technological intertextuality sheds light on the differences between the lettered (the students and the Galician aristocracy) and the aural (the extras at the Fair) society, it also lays bare new encounters between the two due to modernists' interests in premodern societies. There is a frozen image of the letter in which Madeira explains that the Feira da Bandeira is "la más famosa de Galicia" (1:03:29), and a view of an anonymous multitude immediately follows. The crowd arrives at the esplanade to buy and sell goods and cattle, and in the succeeding shots there are carts with oxen, pigs, and children in the arms of their caretakers—all images from everyday life.

Another scenario in which the extras take center stage shows the Romería de Bergondo while Gerardo is spending some time in the Mariñas de Betanzos, where Carmiña and her father owned a summer palace. A group of musicians and dancers with *monteiras* are heading downhill to participate in the pilgrimage. In the next shot, several heterosexual couples dance in rounds and rows what seems to be a Galician muiñeira, judging by the lyrics. Next to Gerardo and Carmiña, a woman plays the tambourine accompanied by others who seem to be singing in chorus. The performers are part of Cantigas e Agarimos, a traditional Coro Galego. In the captions, the stanza appears:

Unha noite no muíño,

unha noite non é nada,

unha semaniña enteira

¡esa si que é muiñada!" (1:18:22)

It could be argued that this stanza inverts the Curros Enríquez verses sung by Carmiña in the presence of Gerardo when they first fell in love:

Unha noite na eira do trigo

o refrexo do branco luar

unha nena choraba sin trégolas

os desdés dun ingrato galán.

The former describes the thirst for enjoyment and endless pleasure, emphasizing leisure time after work. "Unha noite no muíño" is a well-known *muiñeira* of Galician vernacular repertoire that highlights the leisure activities of the rural working classes. Curros's "Cántiga" became an icon of Galician migration in actual Galician culture, as the woman cries over the absence of a loved one who traveled across the ocean in search of a better life. Despite the anaphoric

connection between the two songs and their being embedded in Galician popular culture, the song's different social soundscapes establish a clear demarcation between high and low cultures. The aristocratic *soirée* and the theater—in the case of the Ballet Gallego—operate as a glamour-maker for traditional repertories, while the *romeria* maintains an aura of ethnologic destination, an "in situ display" of rural peasants, as theorized by Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (3-4).

The Compostela ensemble performing in the film, Cantigas e Agarimos, follows the framework of Coros Galegos, explored earlier. The male costume included the *monteira* hat, the vest, and the girdle; in the female clothing, *dengue*, the skirt, and the manila shawl tied as a headband, an outfit that will later also be reproduced by the Ballet Gallego. As in so many occasions, costume functions as a uniform, so only the costume wearers can perform.[39] During the first decades of the twentieth century, it was common for the Coros Galegos to partake in cinematic initiatives as extras. The camera contributed to fixing certain Galician discursive ruralized and backward topoi.

The film also molds the myth of matriarchal Galiza through Carmiña's character. She is a self-sacrificing woman, who despite having fallen in love with Gerardo, does not freely surrender to that love out of a sense of moral duty. Carmiña wants to confirm that Gerardo loves her and that her love impresses onto him the same moral sense that oppresses her. In the end, her love manages to turn a *señorito,* a *vividor* into a diligent law student ("He aquí un modelo de obediencia y amor. ¡El mejor estudiante de Santiago!" 50:32-50:34). Gerardo identifies in her demands a female Galician mentality, and before her distrustful reactions he exclaims "Galleguiña" (50:48-50:49). What is more, the film suggests the mirage that Carmiña has agency, as she makes her own choices concerning love and friendship. Neveertheless, Carmiña

[39] See Ameixeiras Cundíns about the role of traditional and regional dresses in public festivities.

always obeys male authorities and seeks their counsel. While, before his death, her father exercises a consensual authority over her by showing a spirit of dialogue, the priest Dámaso becomes Carmiña's counselor when she falls prey to her aunt, trying to marry her to Octavio. Carmiña represents the ideal Galician potential matriarch: a woman capable of making her own decisions because she has already internalized a patriarchal voice to guide her sense of moral duty.

During the dictatorship, both the reified image of Galiza as a "terra meiga," docile and inscrutable, and the myth of Galician matriarchy reached their peak in the documentary *Galicia y sus gentes: ayer y hoy de las tierras meigas* (1951).[40] The two directors, Alberto Reig and Cristian Anwander, were close associates of the NO-DO.[41] In fact, Anwander was responsible for the photography of *Don Aire de España* (1963), one of Coros y Danzas' most important documentaries. On a discursive level, *Galicia y sus gentes*, like *La casa de la Troya*, constructs a supposed Galician identity through three axes: quoting from Rexurdimento authors (Rosalía de Castro, Eduardo Pondal, and Manuel Curros Enríquez); using Galician idioms; and portraying the Galician landscape as the backbone of Galician psychology.

Galicia y sus gentes begins and ends with poems by Rosalía de Castro. In the overture, a choir sings "Airiños, airiños aires," a poem that deals with Galician emigration; and the final scenes are accompanied by the poem "Negra Sombra" with music by Rexurdimento composer Juan Montes. However, Rosalía de Castro's prominence in the documentary is not limited to her poetry but extends to her house in Padrón, where she died. The building is filmed and elevated to

[40] In her thesis, Busto Miramontes has extensively studied the documentary *Galicia y sus gentes* through the keyword, Galaiquismo, a term inspired by Edward Said's orientalism that unravels the formation of a colonized imagery of the Galician people.

[41] In particular, Christian Anwander was the camera operator of the Slecta camera used to film El Caudillo. In the first years of the dictatorship, it was the only camera that could record sound and image at the same time (see Busto Miramontes, *La Galicia proyectada* 152).

the rank of a pilgrimage center. In the post-Franco era, Rey de Viana also claimed Rosalía de Castro's house in Padrón as a tourist site in a gathering of intellectuals. Observing the precarious state in which Rosalía de Castro's home found itself due to its alleged abandonment by public institutions, Rey de Viana affirmed that "mentres o lar de Rosalía non se levante, Galicia non se levantará" ("Reportaxe" 15:12-15:16). Through the exaggerated importance bestowed on her last dwelling, Rosalía de Castro's symbolic confinement at her home coincides with the Galician discourse of virtuous and sacrificed matriarchy. *Galicia y sus gentes* underlines precisely the ideal of women devoted to country and household, despite the lack of command in economic matters.

The Rexurdimento also has significant weight on the documentary's soundtrack, as its music often finds inspiration in melodies composed by musicians of that period. The musical leitmotif of the film is *Alborada Galega* by Pascual Veiga, and the film coda is also harmonized with music by Juan Montes, as I stated earlier. Both composers were actual participants in the nineteenth-century Galician male choirs, *orfeóns*. I suggest that the Francoist propaganda cabinet was interested in freezing Galician culture at the moment—the Rexurdimento—prior to its political emancipation in favor of nationalism. By focusing on the Rexurdimento's intellectuals and musicians, Francoism obliterated the Irmandades da Fala's nationalist-driven art forms.

As in Manuel Noriega and Pérez Lugín's film, the use of Galician language lacks any communicative attribute; instead, it is a simple tool to characterize the movie, with solid class overtones. That is to say, Galician words, such as "leira" (garden), are merely used to talk about the countryside and agricultural tasks. Some other words like "retranca" (i.e., with an ironic or hidden meaning) are meant to describe the Galician people's psychology. The diminutive suffix -iña /o has similar implications as in the film *La Casa de la Troya*, to depict Galicians as

immature. Additionally, only peasants speak Galician—film extras about whom the audience knows nothing. Film extras again enact everyday situations, including selling handicrafts or animals in the cattle fair. This condition of extras who anonymously pass through the documentary is well reflected in the narrator's speech, which describes them as a "rumor de enjambre y de colmena" (14:10-14:13). However, the dialogues performed in the film do not respect Galician grammar, lexicon, or syntax:

> -A vaquiña éche hermosa.
>
> -Levas unha xoia, tes leite pra dar e regalar.
>
> -Xa veremos o resultado que nos da, pero a estampa non é mala.
>
> -Xa será un pouco menos, paréceme, porque estes feriantes téñenche unha leria. (15:26-15:40).

In this conversation between a livestock merchant and a peasant, for instance, there is an abuse of Castilianisms: the Spanish word "hermosa" is used instead of "fermosa," and "feriantes" instead of "feirantes." Also, the expression "pra dar e regalar" is a copy of the Spanish "para dar y regalar." A more autochthonous form for the idea of offering something to someone would be "agasallar" rather than "regalar." Finally, the Galician solidarity dative, which has allocutive purposes to implicate the listener with the speaker's attitude, is overused in the documentary, as in "éche hermosa" and later in "téñenche."

The third aspect common to *Galicia y sus gentes* and *La Casa de la Troya* is the use of landscape as a determining element of Galician psychology. The documentary repeatedly emphasizes a supposed Celtic past: "Aquí se sostuvo la pureza de la raza celta, como en Irlanda y en Bretaña" (2:26-2:30). Galiza is described as the racial reserve of Spain, a place of Aryanism. To this effect, Galiza is integrated into the European tradition, while its supposed Celtic substrate

makes it an interior colony, the same as Ireland concerning England or Brittany with regard to France. While Celtic ascendency became a fundamental element in the composition of the Galician character, the documentary also sees geography as molding its spirit. It points to the landscape's variety as a fundamental element behind the contradictions that coexist within the Galician people: "Con el curso del Miño cambian tierra cielo y paisaje en esta región de variados panoramas que ofrece el contraste de tres zonas: dos marinas y otra continental y que se corresponden con estados espirituales de la psicología galaica dulce y tímida unas veces, alegre y burlona otras y también nostálgica y marina" (19:08-19:29). As portrayed in the documentary, landscape imprints docility and sentimentality onto the Galician personality: "Esta es Galicia, tenaz, silenciosa, callada, profundamente mística y finamente alegre, ejemplo y prez de la España inmortal" (57:58-58:10). Xosé Manuel Núñez Seixas and Maiken Umbach suggest that the Francoist nation-building process depended on local and regional identity schemes (296). Thus Galiza as a "patria chica" contributed to the construction of Spain as a "patria grande."

The celebration of Galician landscape came also in the form of chauvinism in the documentary. Despite the misery that the country experienced during the postwar years and into the time of the documentary's production, the film's characters seem content, with a supposed abundance of material goods especially in the realm of gastronomy: "nesta terra canto se cría é bo" (14:37-14:40). Such blatant chauvinism before the actual conditions of misery in which the majority of the population lived, fostered a conformist culture before social, economic, and cultural restrictions imposed by the dictatorship.

Galician matriarchy is also a specter that haunts the film. There is a brief mention of the *matriarcado gallego* in the fair scene, although to deny its presence in certain spaces: "en la feria ganadera no impera el matriarcado, aquí es el hombre el dueño y señor" (15:09-15:13). This

myth of gender reversal has a long history in Galician culture. In fact, in the year 29 BC, Greek historian Strabo pointed out that there was a sort of gynecocracy in Northern Spain whereby women inherited the familiar goods and distributed their share with their siblings. The *covada*—whereby new fathers role-played the mother immediately after childbirth—was also a common Galician premodern ritual, and conversely women participated actively in agricultural chores: "conducían el arado, escardaban, sembraban, estercolaban y hacían la *seitura* (siega) como los hombres" (Mandianes Castro 274). Busto Miramontes ultimately emphasizes the patriarchal foundation of the Galician myth by asserting that although Galician women partook in agricultural chores side by side with men, once they returned to the domestic space the gender division of labor reimposed itself (*La Galicia proyectada* 407-408).

In the terrain of music, *Galicia y sus gentes*'s soundtrack was arranged by Emilio Lehmberg Ruiz (Málaga 1905-1960?), a regular contributor of NO-DO. He was best known for his work in the film *Y eligió el infierno*, directed by César F. Ardavín, which earned him the Premio Nacional del Sindicato del Espectáculo in 1957 (Busto Miramontes, *La Galicia proyectada* 417). In Busto Miramontes's view, the documentary's soundtrack consists of several elements: a Galician folk repertoire harmonized for symphony orchestra; martial music; music to accompany the images of the stormy seas; and recordings of traditional Galician music without further arrangement: "Se trata de una orquestación que, por un lado, despopulariza totalmente el repertorio a través de la orquestación y, por otro 'españoliza' —siguiendo la estética de evocación general de la escuela nacionalista— un repertorio de origen gallego" (419; 421). Within the first element identified by Busto Miramontes is the *Foliada de Carramales*'s orchestration. This piece would also later be harmonized in a Ballet Gallego performance titled

Poema da Chispa, orchestrated by a regular collaborator of the ballet company: Rodrigo de Santiago.

Poema da Chispa is included in a three volume $33^{1/3}$ rpm vinyl produced by the Orquesta Sinfónica del Ballet Gallego Rey de Viana and the Cuerpo de Gaitas Rey de Viana. The record opens with *Alborada* by Pascual Veiga and also includes *Adiós Mariquiña: ballet emigrante* by tandem Castro Chané-Curros Enríquez and *Negra sombra: poema coreográfico,* all of them with their corresponding choreography name. Rey de Viana did not miss the chance to include in the Ballet's first public record some of the most important songs composed by the Rexurdimento music triad (Pascual Veiga, Juan Montes, and Castro Chané), not to mention Rosalía de Castro's poem "Negra Sombra." Juan Montes assembled this poem and a folk *alalá* from the local town of Íncio in the Lugo Province in his original score (Vicente Franqueira). This mixture of folk and high culture again fits into Rey de Viana's dance ethics. At the same time, the Rexurdimento became a way to both validate his own place in the Galician canon and contain Galician emancipatory aspirations within nineteenth-century regionalist approaches.[42] In the album, there is also *Pranto-danza trágica*'s song accompanying a mourning dance, in which women dance to a sailor's corpse, a nod to the trope of a shipwreck just as in Verde Gaio's *Nazaré.*

[42] Rexurdimento's literary festival Juegos Florales lingered on during the Civil War. In the 1941 festival edition, the best poem written in Galician could win 2000 pesetas. Contrary to what happened in Catalonia—where the literary contest faced more repression although the ban was ultimately removed in 1971 and already in 1958, poems in Catalan were allowed (see Dowling)—a careful control of the rules and the requirement that the poems written in Galician be dedicated to the Apostle Santiago gave made room for their continuation (Smith 23).

Image 13. Poema da Chispa danced by Rey de Viana as main character. Carlos Cortón (s.d.). Reproduced with permission from Anuario Brigantino.

Originally the piece was performed by Rey de Viana himself as the protagonist (see Image 13). *Poema da Chispa* is described as a "pantomime and dance." Even though I have no access to the footage of that early performance, a recent version filmed by the Televisión de Galicia in 1997 preserves the original steps. *Poema da Chispa* narrates the arrival of an *afiador* (knife sharpener) in a town. As the title unveils, pantomime ("pantomima") is combined with dance steps that change in each of the five short sketches that compound the piece, which in total lasts 8:44 minutes.

Francisco Sineiro, who became part of the company in 1980, performs the *afiador* role ("50 Anos Bailando" 09:05-09:09). He enters the stage with the *tarazana* (a stone sharpening wheel), and shows his instruments to the audience while the sound of the *chifro*—a woodwind instrument used by sharpeners (Camafreita Longa 97)—discloses his presence to the town dwellers. In the first sketch, a woman with a straw hat comes on stage to get a frying pan

repaired (33:28). Then, in a sort of *pas de deux*, they dance to the rhythm of the *Foliada de Carramales*. Dance scholar Judith Lynne Hanna argues that the female-male relationship established in ballet, whereby *ballerinas* make their presence untouchable as ethereal, unreal, and moralistic sylphs who condemn men for their desires, might be an attempt to idealize the middle-class housewife who has had to give up her life for her man and children (126). At the same time, "the ballet pas de deux may also be a metaphor for male domination and patriarchy. In the duet, a man manipulates, controls, and plays with his female partner besides, perhaps, seeing his own desire played out" (168). Academic ballet materializes the ambiguities of the male-female relationship in the *pas de deux*. Likewise, Rey de Viana's choreography includes this dance duet to elevate Galician femininity as morally superior and untouchable, stoically dedicated to her family and chores.

In the following sketch, an elderly woman hands the *afiador* an umbrella to fix. The scene represents her haggling, and although *A Carolina*'s melody sounds while the whole negotiation takes place, there is no dance.[43] The Carolina song tells the story of a promiscuous female dancer who enjoys dancing with different male partners before the scrutiny of an implied audience, while the discourse structure follows a question-answer pattern ("—Bailaches Carolina? / —Bailei, si señor/ —Dime con quen bailaches? / —Bailei co meu amor"). Finally, at least in folk band Fuxan of Ventos's version of the song, the interrogator's voice advises Carolina to stop dancing with her lover: "Co teu amor, Carolina / non volvas a bailar / porque che levanta a saia / e é moi mala de baixar." This moral reprimand of sensual dancing through *A Carolina*'s melody set the tone for the rest of *Poema da chispa*.

[43] *A Carolina* is a piece of vernacular music from the north of the Iberian Peninsula with a *pasodoble* rhythm, played initially with tambourines, bottles of anise, and bagpipes.

The next sketch follows up on the first scene this time with the melody *Cantinela da Fonsagrada*. The female dancer wearing a straw hat and this time accompanied by another woman, picks up the frying pan that she had left to fix. In the following sketch, four other female dancers appear, dancing on the forestage while in the back the *afiador* concentrates on his work, turning the wheel to sharpen knives. The last sketch stars yet another four women with umbrellas and bonnets. As the *afiador* has fallen asleep, the women wake him up so that he can fix their umbrellas. The *Cantinela da Fonsagrada* of the third sketch again stands out from other melodies, to imprint a sense of joyfulness. In this situation, rather than haggling for a fair price, the *afiador* demands the women pay him with a kiss (39:19-40:02). They strongly resist him, but he takes advantage of a moment of confusion to kiss all but one without their consent.

Although the Ballet Gallego showcased eminently rural material, it performed preferentially in urban areas, particularly A Coruña, for a select public. Despite taking advantage of the vernacular output of peripheral Galician rural communities, its semiotic import was conceived in relation to urban spaces, which were also economically benefited by the Ballet's presence. The sound of the *chifros* at the beginning of the piece is *costumbrista* rather than strategic. Originally, *chifros* announced the arrival of the sharpener in the places he visited. As industrial production rearranged the cultural and social conditions of craftsmen, the *afiador* role became less necessary. Therefore, his portrayal turns into a fetish of a golden past, vaguely fulfilling an ornamental purpose when re-signified for urban dwellers.

In this new urban setting, the *afiador* does not use the *chifro* to summon town dwellers, who might need him to sharpen their knives, for instance, for pig slaughter—to imagine a situation in which he might concur. By contrast, the *chifro* here introduces a theatrical dance.

The "supraurban production system," a term coined by Néstor García Canclini (146),[44] allows these re-semanticizing processes to take place in order to homogenize the urban and the rural without necessarily facilitating a process of economic and cultural redistribution. Furthermore, Rey de Viana often boasted about how his company helped promote traditional artisans by staging their professions: "Nosotros siempre hemos procurado hacer exaltación de los oficios. Así el de afilador. Los afiladores orensanos recorren todo el mundo. Hasta un periodista que fue a la China de Mao se encontró con un afilador gallego. El arriero, el zoqueiriño—que es el que hace el zueco, el calzado popular de una Galicia pobre—, el pescador" (Olano, "El gran éxito" 43). As he did throughout his career, Rey de Viana assumed that through a process of spectacularization, the social condition of the people from whom he took inspiration would immediately be improved. Along with all these professions, Rey de Viana also embraced the myth of the hardworking Galician woman: "Exaltaré en nuestros bailes la dura tarea de las mujeres que, en Galicia, construyen con sus manos carreteras de tercer orden" (43).

Once again, language becomes another element of class distinction since Galician-speakers in Francoist media representations are often peasants or working-class. Consequently, language ends up being a fundamental class marker (Álvarez Cáccamo 35). The ballet troupe simply uses Galician language as an ornament, again resignifying its sociocultural functions. In the instrumental use of Galician by the company, there is no anthropological desire to understand Galician idiomatic peculiarities. On the contrary, these are reified in the performance, as one more *attrezzo* to carry out a Spanish mission in foreign tours. In this way, the uses of Galician and Spanish are symbolically hierarchized: Spanish is the company's political and administrative

[44] The "sistema productivo supraurbano" refers to rearranging contradictions between the rural and the urban world, bridging them into a sole homogeneous space.

language, while Galician is nothing more than a museum piece, a vestige of the Celtic past, embellished through the art of dancing.

As described above, in the last sketch of *Poema da chispa*, there is a scene of sexual assault wherein the *afiador* forcibly kisses his female clients, who had refused to kiss him in payment for fixing their umbrellas. The image above shows that Rey de Viana kept this last scene throughout the years. In it, the male dancer points to his cheek while female dancers make a gesture of negation. Yet despite this interaction, the passage ends with a sense of concord between the *afiador* and the women. The scene neutralizes the potential violence of exchanging service for sexual favors, normalizing it as part of the *afiador*'s enterprise. On the one hand, the *afiador* symbolically controls women by dominating their bodies and imposing onto them the male gaze. In so doing, the choreography establishes a culture of ignoring women's choices whereby men prevail by force, leading the audience to look positively at such a trade. As happened in the cattle fair in *Galicia y sus gentes*, the man is in command of the terms and conditions under which economic exchanges occur, despite the idealized Galician matriarchy to whose idealization centralist narratives contributed. On the other hand, this macho behavior is associated with a worker from a popular social background. By attributing this deviated behavior to a working-class man, the Ballet reenacts social class differences in terms of the social groups' distance to wrongdoing. Broadly speaking, the performance purportedly exalts a traditional economic activity on the verge of disappearance while, in fact, reinforcing long-time prejudice about Galician popular classes by portraying them as ill-mannered and out-of-date.

The scene nevertheless also strengthens the matriarchy myth by emphasizing women's modesty despite the sharpener's provocation. Women refuse to consent and instead protect their honor in the public scene to avoid gossip and scorn. In fact, Miguélez-Carballeira situates the

origins of the image of the self-sacrificing and maternal Galician woman in the expansion of the Galician nationalist movement at the beginning of the twentieth century, in opposition to earlier images of adulterous and promiscuous women of rural Galiza described by authors like Rosalía de Castro herself (51-53):

> A força com que o tropo das galegas como mulheres piedosas e abnegadas, e da própria Galiza como uma bondosa mãe necessitada de cuidados e de proteção, surgiu nos primeiros textos do nacionalismo galego e, mais tarde, ao longo do século XX, como uma metáfora recorrente do nacionalismo cultural, é um testemunho do que se percebia como a magnitude dos ataques e também . . . uma prova de até que ponto os códigos de moralidade sexual informaram os discursos nacionalistas sobre as mulheres na Galiza. (52)

In the same vein, Rey de Viana fosters the matriarchal myth emptied from any feminist reading giving rise to forms of domination over women as much as over the Galician territory. This rhetoric also operates as a centralist policy of Galician re-regionalization. This is evident in the ballet piece *Aguilladas e augariñas*, also included in Ballet Gallego's first album. Although I could not access any video of the entire choreography, I have recreated this "danza de arrieiros" through critical reviews in the contemporary media and excerpts available on Youtube.[45] In *Aguilladas e augariñas* women are accessories to men. They perform the role of cows, portrayed as beasts of burden. The *Blanco y Negro* critic perverts the docility of the Galician woman by attributing traditional bovine names to her. "*Marela*," or *rubia*, defines the cow by the color of her fur, just as the blond woman is the archetype of the sexualized woman. The "*xubenca,*"[46] is a young calf, just as the critic appreciates the youth of Rey de Viana's female corps de ballet.

[45] See for instance, "Lexibles 3."
[46] *Xubenca* is the dialectic form of *xovenca*.

Finally, as in *La casa de la Troya* and *Galicia y sus gentes*, the diminutive in "vaquiña" contributes to infantilizing Galician women. In this way, the critic distorts the Manichean association between the rural woman and the cow, as producers (of milk) and reproducers (of children and calves), turning the Galician woman into one more object of the sexualized male gaze.

> Aparecía allí un curioso *palleiro*, constituido por cuatro danzarines cubiertos por *corozas* . . . .[47] Otro bailarín, también abrigado con *augariña* —otro nombre que se le da a esa capa— conducía, *aguillada* en mano, una yugada de... *vacas. Mas bien esbeltas ternerillas marelas*, que en cuanto acababan de cruzar la escena arrojan [sic] sus cornúpetas testas y se estiran tras las bambalinas, mostrando la dulcísima humanidad de sus cuerpos. (Hay que sacar más partido —nos atrevimos a sugerir otro día a Rey de Viana— de esas preciosas *xubencas* . . . . La próxima vez se lo diremos a Victoria Canedo, para ver si convence a su marido y hace bailar más a las *vaquiñas*). (Borobó 20-23; emphasis in the original)

Although Rey de Viana did not portray sexualized rural women, paradoxically, their characterization as docile and voluptuous, maternal and caring ends up likening them to animals and even moving towards the terrain of a certain zoophilic eroticism. Their role as burden animals also emphasizes relations of domination between men and women. Despite Rey de Viana's attempt to consolidate the idea of an honest and selfless woman, his choreographies gave rise to a sexualized interpretation. This discourse proves that gender rhetoric hardly escapes sexualized readings, transforming alleged decent women into objects of male sexual fantasies.

[47] *Corozas* are capes made out of straws.

Once more, Spanish centralist critics exerted their colonizing gaze onto Galician women's bodies.

To conclude, I have studied the ballet piece *Poema da chispa*, which mimics the activities of an *afiador* as he arrives in a town to sharpen knives and fix umbrellas. Drawing on previous Galician psychology narratives, I have closely read the performance as part of a genealogy of discourses that conceived of Galiza as a place of distrustful and sentimental people. They used a threefold mechanism: emphasizing the Rexurdimento's legacy; using some Galician words and expressions to characterize the scene without compromising the supremacy of the Spanish language; and highlighting the Galician landscape as the reason for certain psychology of the Galician people. All these ideas converge on Ballet Gallego's pantomime and dance production *Poema da Chispa* to promote an idea of the Galician being that is authorized by its supposed use of traditional Galician folklore. Additionally, the Ballet Gallego's repertoire fosters the idea of Galician women—particularly rural women—as docile and demure. Against the backdrop of a conservative and Catholic dictatorship, Rey de Viana found it beneficial to promote such imagery to counteract the vision of an erotic Spain driven by flamenco.

Throughout this chapter, I have analyzed the Ballet Gallego Rey de Viana's trajectory beginning with the study of its roots in the *orfeóns* and the Coros Galegos as the cradle of Galician folkloric institutionalization. The Coros Galegos, through their *cadros* and *estampas galegas*, were fundamental in consolidating a certain image of Galiza as a rural and backward country inhabited by distrustful but docile people. The *estampas* portrayed the daily life of peasants, emphasizing *costumbrista* imagery through the use of the so-called regional costume and the diffusion of a specific set of musical instruments. The Ballet Gallego Rey de Viana inherited this ruralized and traditional imagery and stage it in cosmopolitan theaters to seek

international recognition as a proof of Galician existence. The Ballet's performances popularized and exported Galician folklore's specificity, turning it into a spectacle entirely divorced from the rural communities in which it presumably originated.

For its conception of Galician culture, the Ballet Gallego Rey de Viana built on the Celtic genealogical narrative and other residual discourses (such as the myth of Galician matriarchy) that, in contraposition to the image of virile Castilian culture, ultimately served the diplomatic interests of Francoist Spain. Under the aegis of Information and Tourism Minister Manuel Fraga Iribarne, the Ballet Rey de Viana became part of the cultural network used to conceal Francoist regime's lack of freedom behind the mirage of a country full of talented performers and classy spectacles available to distinguished foreign and domestic elites: the so-called *ballet español*. In contrast to flamenco, whose national representativity had, in José Manuel Rey de Viana's eyes, led to the exoticization of Spain, the ensemble's director put forward a more palatable, Aryanized peninsular culture of Celtic substrate, that could presumably redefine Spain's peripheral relation to European cultural centers. In so doing, Rey de Viana assumed Galician subalternity within the logic of the Spanish state, in fact recasting any nationalist claims that might have inhered to Galician folklore back within strictly regionalist molds acceptable to the Franco regime.

Epilogue: The Politics of Folklore Today

"Eu, de fato, ainda adoro a Amália e ouço-a quase a chorar
se for preciso e se tivesse que escolher um único português
para entrar no paraíso, talvez quisesse que fosse ela,
para eternizar de verdade aquela voz,
a maior voz da desgraça e do engano dos portugueses.
Pena não haver paraíso, já não haver Amália
e ter havido e sobrar tanta desgraça e engano."

Valter Hugo Mãe, *A Máquina de Fazer Espanhóis,* 2010.

As I was finishing this dissertation, the Galician folk band Tanxugueiras was favored to represent Spain in the Eurovision song contest. Aida Tarrío and twins Olaia and Sabela Maneiro, the all-women triad of *pandereteiras* (female tambourine players) forming the Tanxugueiras, received the most votes in the annual survey organized by the webpage eurovision-spain.com. However, to represent Spain in the European TV show, the Tanxugueiras needed to win the Benidorm Fest contest, and the gap between the popular vote—which they topped—and the professional jury's assessment left them in the third position.[1] If Tanxugueiras represented Spain in Eurovision, it would have been the first time that a band from Spain would not sing in Spanish or English. The folk band's song even includes a line, "there are no borders," repeated in some of the other languages of the nation-state: Catalan, Basque, Asturian, and Spanish.

Throughout its history since 1957, the European song contest has served as a platform for cultural diplomacy, where, as scholar Lisanne Wilken stated: "it is possible to see how the positions of and relationships between the different countries in the contest are visualised and

[1] Benidorm Fest's selection process consists of two phases: there is a semifinal and final and both are governed by the same voting system. In the semifinal, a committee of experts delivers a verdict amounting to 50 per cent of the band's points; the other half is based on a public opinion survey and televote from the audience by SMS or calls. Four bands classify to the second phase in which the same voting system states.

narrated, and how past and present political issues, for example, technological development, colonialism, the struggle of minorities, EU integration and the Cold War division of Europe are presented" (174-175). Tanxugueiras' performance revealed Spanish territorial tensions, i.e., Spanish centralist and internal colonialist policies towards the different historical peoples that set up the country. Thus, an allegedly innocuous folk band might be engaging in political maneuvers to let the European audience know that Galiza is a small region in Northern Spain, with a historical community and a language of its own, where women used to enjoy themselves singing and playing tambourines.

The Tanxugueiras conceive of themselves as feminists and are rooted in the Galician nationalist cultural tradition. In 2018, they featured in the single "Cultura Crítica" released by the nationalist rock-band NAO, a band with solid ties to the nationalist political party BNG (Bloque Nacionalista Galego), along with hip-hop duo SonDaRúa, recognized for advocating the cause of Galician independentist political prisoners. Both bands—the late NAO and SonDaRúa—are also well known for their upfront opposition to the conservative policies of the president of the Government of Galiza from 2009 to 2022, Alberto Núñez Feijóo—in fact, the song lyrics overtly demand that Galician public institutions protect and promote music sung in the Galician language, and their left-wing slogans claim to represent the popular classes, "a voz do pobo."

In this particular song, "Cultura Crítica," the Tanxugueiras seemingly inscribe themselves in a protest-song musical genealogy. This genealogy comprises songwriters and folk bands, such as Voces Ceibes or Fuxan os Ventos, that used the Galician language and vernacular productions to invigorate local culture in the face of Spanish centralist policies, earlier enforced by Francisco Franco's repressive fascist regime, and then continued during the constitutional monarchy. In "Cultura Crítica," the Tanxugueiras declare their goal to occupy a place from which Galician

women had previously been expelled: "xa non temos fame, non imos calare, / seguiremos rindo, seguiremos a soñare, / vivan as matriarcas, vivan as foliadas, / colle a pandeireta e a afinar esas guitarras." The first verse "xa non temos fame" dialogues with the song "Muller" by the Fuxan os ventos folk band ("nunca nos han pagar / a nosa fame de outrora"),[2] highlighting precisely a cultural lineage.

Fuxan os Ventos' song "Muller" tells the story of the Galician matriarchal myth, in which women, who had to take care of everything in the absence of their male partners, overcome the gender division of labor: "Muller, fartura de loita / qué che hei decire eu, muller? / se ti es coma a terra nosa, / e a terra coma ti é!" Women and land are bound together; they both guarantee life's continuity through reproduction, and they are both subjected to male desires ("E hoxe que volto vencido / para que eu venza ti te deitas"). The song's last stanza points out Spanish colonial policies as the cause for Galician migration, poverty, and the personal consequences it entangles: "Xa poden os leiros dar / colleitas ben abondosas, / poden en *Madrí* falar / con palabras ben fermosas, / que nunca nos han pagar / a nosa fame de outrora!" The Tanxugueiras now return to the idea of hunger ("fame"), declaring that Galiza has overcome its *séculos escuros*, a time in which the Galician language was proscribed, and scarcity devastated the popular classes. Instead, their message is promising and cheerful, as they will raise their voices, take their tambourines, and be heard. They openly take the legacy of Galician matriarchs and transform what used to be a burden and a sign of women's high moral standards—as women had to work in solitude unceasingly and always under community scrutiny, precluding them from adultery in the absence of men—into an epic attribute.

[2] Fuxan os ventos was a modern Galician folk music group, formed in the late Franco years, committed to Galician culture and identity, and linked to the Iberian protest song movement of the late 1960s and 1970s.

Image 14. Tanxugueiras with Fran Sieira, Artur Puga, and Iago Pico in the Benidorm Fest, 2022. Rocío Cives ©

The Tanxugueiras' single "Terra," their proposal for the 2022 song contest, further elaborates on this discourse of Galician telluric mysticism, the power of women's voices, as well as their drums, and the emancipatory connotations for women therein.[3] They also appeal to the sorority in the line "compañeiriña leal" ("loyal girlfriend") and announce the arrival of new strong women: "esas bravas gorxas de fondo cantar /. . . . / aí veñen, aí veñen, veñen pra quedar." Women who dare to raise their voices are here to stay and be heard. Their performance at the Benidorm Fest also challenges taxonomical gender roles, as they wore high-waisted pants resembling the traditional male sash (faixa). In contrast, two male dancers were dressed in skirts (see Image 14), a trend already initiated in modern Galician dance by choreographer Quique Peón in his show *Ovay* (2009) and the troupe A Nova Galega de Danza in *Son* (2016).[4]

[3] Judith Cohen has studied how women were the only players of square frame drums—*pandeiros* or *adufes*—in the Iberian Peninsula until revivalist folklorists degendered the instrument. Cohen argues that "Singing with the drum is a largely collective activity. The attention given to the drumming, and sometimes to simultaneous dancing, often seem to liberate the women to express ideas in their songs which they might not be able to express with impunity in ordinary conversation" (103). See Chapter 1.

[4] The director of the Nova Galega de Danza, Jaime Pablo Díaz, was himself a Ballet Gallego Rey de Viana's dancer.

Despite their very particular political commitments—as feminists, as Galician sovereigntists—the Tanxugueiras have gained support across the Spanish political spectrum. Both the President of the Xunta de Galicia, conservative Alberto Núñez Feijóo, and left-wing Minister of Labor, Yolanda Díaz (before, a member of the Partido Comunista de España) have shown their support for the folk band and their wishes to have them represent Spain in Eurovision.

The Tanxugueiras' phenomenon reminds me of the Ballet Gallego Rey de Viana's trajectory (which I have explored in Chapter 3). The Celtic topic, whereby Galician cultural origins stemmed from the Celtic peoples that dwelled in the Iberian Peninsula in Ancient times, became a reference in the Spanish media to label the Tanxugueiras' music style. The label was certainly profitable until the end of the twentieth century; however, it does not have continuity in the Galician folk community nowadays. However, music critics from Madrid continue to stick to the term, revealing how pervasive colonial discourses that set a center and periphery still matter nowadays (see Laura Pérez). Also proof of the term's colonial connotations is the absence of the Celtic label to define the band in Galician media outlets.

Thus, if journalists had paid enough attention to the evolution folk music has experienced in the last decades, they would certainly avoid the term Celtic, as it is a commercial category without a grounded presence in the Galician folk community. The Tanxugueiras emerged from locally-based folklore societies, mostly horizontally organized by town neighbors to provide children with communal activities after school or during weekends, such as tambourine and bagpipe lessons. Their earliest recognition came while performing in *foliadas,* informal gatherings for people to amuse themselves, mostly dancing Galician *bailes sueltos* and sharing alcoholic drinks. The solid local provenance of the band thus means that the term Celtic is utterly

inapplicable to them. The descriptor Celtic became popular in the 1970s and was used by some bands like Milladoiro or famous bagpipe player Carlos Núñez to integrate themselves into the international Celtic community; it was also used, not the least, by the Ballet Gallego Rey de Viana. Nevertheless, the label did not have any continuity in the folk music ensembles that mushroomed in the early 2010s.[5] In the end, the Celtic label was a temporary fashion that vanished without putting down roots in the Galician folk community where women's tambourines and drums unseated bagpipes.

Rather than turning to the Celtic label to explain the current Tanxugueiras phenomenon, its sources must be found in the Coros y Danzas of the Sección Femenina de la Falange (which I have studied in Chapter 1). Some Coros y Danzas troupes survived the dictatorship by changing their names, as did *Os Eidos*, in A Coruña, and are still active these days as folklore societies. Actually, the traditional garb that these organizations' members wear to perform in contests or festivals has kept Sección Femenina's style, even the invented bourgeois underwear, *pololos,* for female dancers. Not to mention that even today the main incentive for keeping amateur ensembles rehearsing and creating choreographies anew every year are music and dance contests among different folk ensembles, in which they compete in both folk song and folk dance categories in a similar fashion to Coros y Danzas. During the 1980s and 1990s, after ethnographical work done by people such as Mercedes and Quique Peón, Xabier Díaz, Pablo Díaz, Álex Ínsua, Marina Dourado, Leilía band, A Roda band, and many more, *pandereteiras* became part of iconic Galician folk music. The Pandereteiras de Mens, a band of five elderly

[5] I am alluding here to Mercedes Peón, Guadi Galego, Xabier Díaz e as Adufeiras de Salitre, Baiuca, SES, Uxía, Davide Salvado and more heterodox folk agitator Rodrigo Cuevas, from Asturias.

women from a village in the Bergantiños county, represent such an aesthetic switch in the folk scene towards women and tambourines at the expense of men and bagpipes.[6]

Parallel to Tanxugueiras' participation in the Benidorm Fest, Portugal was choosing its own band to represent the country in the Eurovision song contest in March 2022. The Fado Bicha is a queer fado duo formed by Lila Fadista and João Caçador, and they were invited by the Rádio e Televisão de Portugal (RTP) to perform in the national contests to the Portuguese entry for Eurovision, the Festival da Canção. Although the first edition of the Festival was held in 1964, it became a musical spectacle of enormous mediatic implications after the Revolução dos Cravos, on April 25, 1974, and it has engaged in the definition of Portuguese musical genres ever since (Cardão). The Fado Bicha duo destabilizes the notion of fado by interrupting its alleged traditional patterns with electronic sounds and lyrics from a queer and a postcolonial perspective. In so doing, Fado Bicha wants the fado to return to its original subaltern locus of enunciation, i.e., the former Portuguese colonies, all the more after the Estado Novo had exploited its international success through Amália Rodrigues: "[Fado Bicha's] bold and pithy claim of fado's return to Brazil and Angola comes along with fado's instantiation as queer through their performances, their compositions, and their assured insistence that fado has always been queer" (D. da Silva, *Trans Tessituras* 89).

The term *bicha* is a pejorative referred to effeminate gay men, more widespread in Brazil than in Portugal, and Fado Bicha's repertoire reappropriates this notion rehabilitating both fado and the LGBTQI+ memory after the coercion exerted upon them by consecutive Portuguese colonial states in their various forms. In 2019, they launched their first song, "O Namorico do André." It tells the story of André, a fishmonger, and Chico, a fisherman, a loving couple who

[6] See Busto Miramontes's *As Pandereteiras de Mens.*

suffers the homophobic disapproval of André's mother, so they enjoy casual encounters to show their love.[7] The song resembles "A Bia da Mouraria"[8] often performed by the world famous fado singer Carminho. In the Bairro da Mouraria, Bia and Chico are two lovers of simple lives ("vidas sinxelas") courting before the approval of their neighbors: "Na Mouraria só falam do namorico / A Bia namora o Chico e as conversas são iguais." The parallels between the two songs, namely the narrative genre, the love story, the reference to community life in the Mouraria and the Mercado da Ribeira (in Fado Bicha's song), the protagonists' simple lives ("Enquanto ela vende flores / o Chico vende cautelas") ("No Mercado da Ribeira, há um romance de amor / entre o André que é peixeiro e o Chico que é pescador"), stand in sharp contrast to the type of romantic relationship the characters are involved in. In Carminho's song the love story ends in marriage in the local Church ("Vai ter a Bia, a festa que ela deseja / Irá toda a Mouraria ver o casório na Igreja"), while André and Chico experience their love "da forma mais diversa." The Fado Bicha duo discloses forms of love alternative to the Catholic sacrament of marriage, and the heterosexual couple, while still focusing on the popular classes getting fado closer to what they deem to be its queer inception and popular ascription.

A year earlier, in 2018, during the 26th edition of the Gala Abraço organized by the Abraço society, an advocate for the rights of HIV/AIDS patients, the Fado Bicha performed the single "Valentim" based on a namesake poem by Inês Marto. The song rescues the story of Valentim de Barros, the dancer incarcerated in Miguel Bombarda's psychiatric hospital during the Estado Novo (see Introduction and Chapter 2). By including this song in their repertoire, the

[7] That same year, the band released a video clip in which racialized actors performed the roles of Chico and André while the duo Fado Bicha appeared cross-dressed.
[8] The song was written by Carlos de Melo Garcia Correia Nóbrega e Sousa.

Fado Bicha are in keeping with a genealogy of outed queer and deviated performers that use their art to destabilize heteronormative ways of understanding desire and aesthetics (see Image 15).

Image 15. Fado Bicha in their promotional image for the Festival da Canção, 2022, by Daryan Dornelles. Courtesy of Fado Bicha.

But fado's particularly "unbearable" genealogy, as suggested by Daniel da Silva ("Unbearable Fadistas"), could not do without António Variações, the queer legend of the post-April 25 music scene. Variações's re-making of Amália Rodrigues's famous song "Povo que lavas no rio" (by songwriter Pedro Homem de Mello) as his first single "Povo que lavas no rio/Estou além" (1982) marks a turning point in the genre's trend. While Amália Rodrigues's song romanticized the living conditions of popular classes in the rural areas, António Variações's reinterpretation of it through the rock-punk style of the 1980s means a "trans formation that casts

fado as affect and story of queer bodies and desires, making its public complicit in the process" (D. Da Silva, "Unbearable Fadistas" 128).

In the Festival da Canção, Fado Bicha performed "Povo pequenino," which as in the case of "O Namorico do André" has some resemblance to other previous fado songs, mainly Amália Rodrigues and António Variações's "Povo que lavas no rio," while also gesturing towards the record that marked the start of the military coup against the Estado Novo in 1974, José "Zeca" Afonso's "Grândola Vila Morena." "Povo pequenino" opens with a banging of percussion instruments that recalls the sound of the military boots that marked the overture of Zeca Afonso's song, as walking towards a new period of freedom. Meanwhile, in "Povo pequenino," the Fado Bicha reproduces the imaginary of poor rural communities in Portugal: "pés descalços na geada," "cartilha da pancada," "a enxada," "chorar na tabuada" (a reference to violence in schools), "molhar pão velho na caldeirada." The song's lyrics echo those of "Povo que lavas no rio" through notions of misery and poverty ("aromas de urze e de lama"), and the *povo pequenino* is the same people who used to wash their laundry in the river. Yet Fado Bicha demands a reexamination of Portuguese history as marked by colonial wars and enslavement, by rhetorically questioning "Não te pesa o coração / com o chumbo da lição?" At the same time, what it seemed a homage to the Revolução dos Cravos and the victory of a liberal democratic regime over the fascist Estado Novo through percussion sounds, ends up denouncing the mirage of the popular classes' empowerment in post-revolutionary Portugal ("No mar, a boiar, são cravos"), while structurally maintaining the colonial relations of power ("No fundo, há feitos escravos"). The "cravo" ("carnation") as a symbol of the Portuguese antifascist fight could ultimately masquerade the injustices inflicted upon the subaltern. In the song press release, Fado Bicha explains the motifs and tropes that impelled "Povo pequenino":

> A canção evoca impressões de Lila de memórias de infância do seu pai, filho de agricultores e analfabetos numa aldeia ribatejana, e instiga com provocação a uma reflexão emotiva sobre o passado e o presente de Portugal, quando estamos à beira de ter um partido neofascista como terceira força política e nos vemos incapazes de nos confrontarmos com a nossa tradição racista e colonialista e as tensões e desigualdades que ela provoca até hoje. As identidades bichas de Lila e João não são alheias a esta colocação artística: a história (possível) da comunidade queer em Portugal é profundamente marcada pelo domínio e violência da autoridade moral, da autoridade religiosa, da autoridade científica e da autoridade estatal, que se articularam durante séculos para fazer extinguir as pessoas LGBTI.[9]

Fado Bicha unapologetically include themselves not only in the fado tradition but also in the antifascist affective memory that superseded the Estado Novo. The carnation might disguise the racist political apparatuses that permeate the Portuguese state, but it cannot erase them. In their performance on March 5, 2022, in the Festival da Canção, Lila Fadista climbed some stairs while singing "No fundo, há feitos escravos." In so doing, she was reenacting the Padrão dos Descobrimentos monument, located in Lisbon, bridging the Portuguese Age of Discovery to the pain and violence inflicted onto colonized dwellers.[10] As António Fernando Cascais points out, the effects of exclusion and repression suffered by the LGBTQI+ group do not only have consequences for the people who directly suffer them, but also impact the communities that cluster around them:

[9] Fado Bicha's "Nota de lançamento" refers to the recent general election results, whereby Chega!, an extreme-right-wing political party, increased its representation in the Parliament, becoming the third party.
[10] In a statement to the TV channel ESC Portugal after the show, the Fado Bicha unraveled some symbolic aspects of the performance.

> os efeitos e consequências dessas acções não se confinaram às comunidades inteiras, sob a forma daquilo que se convencionou—"*tant bien que mal*"—chamar de homofobia e homofobia internalizada, que moldaram e continuam a moldar uma sociedade inteira e a própria subjectividade das pessoas que são seus alvos. Tanto bastaria para autorizar que as comunidades LGBTQ sejam herdeiras directas e depositárias de uma exclusão, de um estigma, de uma *vergonha* que lhes foi infligida e que, não sendo apenas memória, perdura transepocalmente. (149-150)

Fado Bicha carries with it a postmemory, to use Marianne Hirsch's term, of deeds never experienced directly but that have affectively reached them through contact with an older generation and with colonized subjects. Thus, the transtemporal character of oppression against certain communities has often been responded to by transtemporal forms of subversion, all the more when these communities, as the LGBTQI+, have been politically and socially articulated to unfolding action. Valentim de Barros's history, as much as dancer Francis Graça's closeted experience, which I have examined in Chapter 2, are now part of a cultural tradition that is not mere memory but a continuation. In the end, the Fado Bicha did not make it to the Festival da Canção finals, as they did not get enough support from the mixed voting system of a jury and popular televoting. Like the Tanxugueiras, they will not represent their country in the Eurovision song contest either, but their political utterances had already been heard, seen, and embodied.

In my dissertation, I offer an alternate genealogy of the politics of folklore under the Iberian fascist regimes. Thereby, I am also contributing to understanding the negotiations at stake in todays' folklore societies in terms of community-making and identity construction alongside the political implications of conservation and archivization of memories marginal to a hegemonic historicism. "Not man or men but the struggling, oppressed class itself is the

depository of historical knowledge," Walter Benjamin reminds the reader in his "Theses on the Philosophy of History" (260). Moreover, the mutable nature of music and dance performance challenges notions of authenticity as much as jeopardizes cultural relativism. In this regard, Paul Gilroy points out the scholarly task of "striving to comprehend the reproduction of cultural traditions not in the unproblematic transmission of a fixed essence through time but in the breaks and interruptions which suggest that the invocation of tradition may itself be a distinct, though covert, response to the destabilizing flux of the post-contemporary world" (101). In the face of a destabilizing system such as neoliberalism, falling into the temptation to anchor communities through cultural expressions despite their very fragmented condition has proven to open the door to political appropriations by evil power structures.

Although the Tanxugueiras' phenomenon, just like the Fado Bicha's subversive agency in the fado scene, deviated from the folk culture that lingered on during the dictatorial regime, they are still very much dependent on nation-state power structures. Even if they acknowledge that vernacular music is an unstable category that changes over time and adapts to the technologies and locations of each period, they are grounded in their commitment to Galician popular classes, the Portuguese LGBTQI+ community, and the politics of postcolonialism. Consequently, the Tanxugueiras and the Fado Bicha conceive of their potential participation in Eurovision as a way to prove their communities' existence and to recognize their cultural traditions: "queremos levar 'Terra' a Eurovisión por nós, polas que veñen e tamén polas que foron. Porque sen memoria perdemos a nosa identidade e o futuro" (qtd. in Pérez Pena); "Fomos convidades pela RTP para participar como autorxs de uma das 20 canções a concurso. Decidimos aceitar o convite. Não há lugar pra mais subterfúgios, barricadas ou meias palavras, entramos na arena para dar tudo, mostrar e reclamar tudo, lutar pelas nossas vidas, pelas vossas

vidas, curtir muito e fazer umas boas mossas no cispatriarcado nacionalista português."[11] Yet both bands have the need to justify their participation in the festival as well as to anticipate their making an impact ("fazer umas boas mossas") showing that their turnout in the Benidorm Fest and the Festival da Canção poses a conundrum. They had to elaborate on their will to participate as they are an estranged body among the commodified and depoliticized music bands that often concur in these types of TV contests not least the Eurovision TV show. Thus, the assumption arises that the subaltern and their intersections feel they have to be spectacularized and put on stage in order to exist. Do subaltern cultural traditions need the tourist gaze's recognition in order to exist?

The Tanxugueiras and the Fado Bicha are part of a current phenomenon of reappropriation and resemanticization of vernacular culture by counter-hegemonic subjects that has followed in the steps of folklore appropriation at the hands of fascist regimes. Consequently, they perceive their potential presence in the Eurovision song contest as a rehabilitation of a public sphere that has denied them access ever since its conception in the eighteenth century. Recognition often generates the conditions of possibility for the subject and the communal political articulation of minorized, marginalized, deviated, or closeted identities. Yet Tanxugueiras would have to pay the price for sublating Galiza's marginal position in Spanish politics as a means to access European cosmopolitan stages. At the same time the Fado Bicha would openly expose their pride to obliterate the historical shame that has kept the LGBTQI+ community confined.[12] Partaking in Eurovision means playing by the highly codified rules of the

[11] Fado Bicha Facebook post, 4 November 2021, https://www.facebook.com/fadobicha/photos/a.1822353881299610/1850617365139928/.

[12] For instance, see Brigitte Vasallo's ideas on homonationalism applied to Conchita Wurst's victory in the Eurovision song contests in 2014. Homonationalism, initially coined by Jasbir P. Puar, defines the political siding of nationalist political groups with the demands of the LGBTQI+ community while enforcing policies of exclusions based on race, gender, and class intersections.

festival and engaging in an institution that permitted Franco's Spain and Salazar and Caetano's Portugal to pitch in without any commitment on the dictators' part to embrace democratic values. This input poses a conundrum: How can deviant bodies and social behaviors gain expressive autonomy and acknowledgment without losing their freedom to the hands of the institutional powers that control the public sphere?

In *Staging Deviant Traditions: The Politics of Folklore under the Iberian Fascist Regimes,* I have walked backward in search of the original sin that fostered the politics of folklore during the dictatorships. Hence, through the micro-histories of Coros y Danzas of the Sección Femenina, the Bailados Portugueses Verde Gaio and the Ballet Gallego Rey de Viana, I have explored how repressive organisms instrumentally appropriated a tradition marked by deviance and deviant bodies to endure in power, turning essentialized identities into fetishes of cultural propaganda. And even today those fetishes pierce the experiences of music communities rooted in vernacular cultures.

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