

Gemma Pérez Zaldondo /
Iván Iglesias (eds.)

Music and the Spanish Civil War



PETER LANG

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**Chapter 9: “Un spectacle guerrier.”
Traditional Dance in the Spanish Pavilion
at the International Exhibition in Paris
(1937)¹**

Much has been written about the rationalist building constructed by Luis Lacasa and Josep Lluís Sert, and about the participation of great Spanish artists (Alberto Sánchez, Joan Miró, Pablo Picasso or Julio González) in the pavilion that the Republic contributed to the *Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne* (Paris, 1937). These works of art – along with the ever prominent role played by Alexander Calder’s mercury fountain and, most notably, Picasso’s *Guernica* – complemented material presented based mostly on photo montages produced under the direction of Josep Renau, General Manager of Fine Arts, who for some time before had been experimenting with propagandistic techniques through his work in politically engaged magazines such as *October*, *New Culture*, amongst others. The Paris Exhibition of 1937 was initially envisaged as a point of contact for artists, industrialists and artisans,² but the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War changed the commercial significance of the fair for the Republican government. In addition to the paintings, sculptures and photo montages on show, the Spanish exhibition pavilion also presented examples of craftsmanship (flagons, baskets, pottery and lacework), working tools

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- 1 This essay was written within the framework of the R+D+i project: *Danza durante la Guerra Civil y el franquismo (1936–1960): políticas culturales, identidad, género y patrimonio coreográfico* (HAR2013-48658-C2-2-P). Research in the archives in Paris could be completed thanks to an “Ayuda de Movilidad de Excelencia para Docentes e Investigadores de la Universidad de Oviedo,” funded by Banco Santander in 2015.
 - 2 As expressed in the report written by Javier Meruéndano, the Commercial Attaché to the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, March 7, 1935, file 1704, 1, Sección Político Social-Madrid (hereafter PS-Madrid), Archivo General de la Guerra Civil Española (hereafter AGGC), Salamanca.

and regional dress that was alternately displayed on several tailors' dummies. Moreover, the Republican government's plan emphasised the great importance of live shows in the inner courtyard: theater, music, dance and film showings, aspects dealt with much less in the subsequent bibliography than those related with architecture and visual arts.

For this undertaking, I shall be using the invaluable information published several years ago by Martín Martín, Alix Trueba and Cabañas Bravo³ in addition to Mendelson's interpretation of the pavilion's cultural policy.⁴ Over the last two decades, some of the artistic facets of the Spanish involvement in the Paris International Exhibition have also awoken interest in other disciplines, which have led to studies in aspects related to the music, photomontages, dance stage design, theater and cinema in the pavilion.⁵

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- 3 Víctor Pérez Escolano, Vicente Lleó Cañal, Antonio González Cordón and Fernando Martín Martín, "El Pabellón de la República Española en la Exposición Internacional de París, 1937," in *España. Vanguardia artística y realidad social: 1936–1976*, texts from the Venice Biennale (Barcelona: Gustavo Gili, 1976), 26–43; Fernando Martín Martín, *El pabellón español en la Exposición Universal de París en 1937* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 1982); Josefina Alix Trueba, *Pabellón español. Exposición Internacional de París, 1937* (Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura & Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, 1987); Miguel Cabañas Bravo, *Josep Renau. Arte y propaganda en guerra* (catálogo de exposición, Madrid: Ministerio de Cultura, 2007) and "Renau y el pabellón español de 1937 en París, con Picasso y sin Dalí," in *Josep Renau (1907–1982): compromiso y cultura*, 3.^a ed. (Valencia: SECC y Universitat de València, 2007), 140–169.
 - 4 Jordana Mendelson, *Documentar España. Los artistas, la cultura expositiva y la nación moderna, 1929–1939* (Madrid: La Central, 2012) [original in English, *Documenting Spain: Artists, Exhibition Culture, and the Modern Nation, 1929–1939* (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005)]; *Idem*, *El Pabellón Español, París, 1937* (Barcelona: La Central, 2009).
 - 5 María Palacios, "La música en las exposiciones internacionales de Barcelona (1929) y París (1937)," in *Música española entre dos guerras, 1914–1945*, ed. Javier Suárez-Pajares (Granada: Archivo Manuel de Falla, 2002), 219–256; María Rosón Villena, "Fotomurales del Pabellón Español de 1937: vanguardia artística y misión política," *Goya: revista de arte* no. 319–320 (July–October 2007): 281–298; Idoia Murga Castro, "La escenografía de la danza en la Guerra Civil española," in *Arte en tiempos de guerra*, eds. M. Cabañas Bravo, A. López-Yarto Elizalde and W. Rincón García (Madrid: CSIC, 2009), 317–332 (regarding dance in the Spanish pavilion, 327–329); Emilio Peral Vega,

I aim to illustrate the role that traditional dance played in the 1937 Spanish pavilion, and attempt to understand the image that the decision-makers of the cultural policy of the Republic wished to convey. In order to do so, I have drawn on several sources, and consulted in archives and libraries in Madrid, Alcalá de Henares, Salamanca and Paris. This topic provides us with the opportunity to explore three facets: Republican political policies, strategies arising from the war situation –which it will be necessary to look at in more detail using local examples–⁶ and the establishing of an image representing the Spanish nation on an international scene. Lastly, we will consider the apparent convergence in interests by both right-wing and left-wing policies to repurpose folklore traditions. Having said this, it would be somewhat unwise to compare the Republican policy regarding dance with that of the Falangists and Francoists during the war and the post-war⁷ before presenting an adequate number of case studies, as we aim to set out in this document.

“La Barraca: tocata y fuga de un teatro para el pueblo,” in *Retablos de agitación política, Nuevas aproximaciones al teatro de la Guerra Civil española* (Madrid: Iberoamericana, 2013), 111–163; Alfonso Puyal, “Películas junto a pinturas: cine en el pabellón español de la Exposición Internacional de París 1937,” *Hispanic Research Journal* 16, no. 1 (February 2015): 1–14.

- 6 Regarding the national zone, the benchmark study by Gemma Pérez Zaduondo which compares several cities: “«Elogio de la alegre retaguardia»: La música en la España de los sublevados durante la guerra civil,” *Acta Musicologica* 90, no. 1 (2018): 78–94.
- 7 Concerning the speeches and dance routines by the Sección Feminina, see Beatriz Martínez del Fresno, “La Sección Femenina de Falange y sus relaciones con los países amigos. Música, danza y política exterior durante la guerra y el primer franquismo,” in *Cruces de caminos. Intercambios musicales y artísticos en la Europa de la primera mitad del siglo XX*, eds. Gemma Pérez Zaluendo and M.^a Isabel Cabrera García (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2010), 357–406; and *Idem*, “Women, Land, and Nation. The Dances of the Falange’s Women’s Section in the Political Map of Franco’s Spain (1939–1952),” in *Music and Francoism*, eds. Gemma Pérez Zaluendo and Germán Gan Quesada (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 99–125. Regarding resistance to this model through modern dance routines see Iván Iglesias, “Everyday Resistances to Fascism: The Falange and Modern Popular Dances in Franco’s Spain (1939–1947),” in *Dance, Ideology and Power in Francoist Spain, 1938–1968*, eds. Beatriz Martínez del Fresno and Belén Vega Pichaco (Turnhout/Chicago: Brepols, 2017), 427–455.

Projects for Performances in the Spanish Pavilion Courtyard

Despite the numerous difficulties arising from the Spanish Civil War, the Republic's pavilion was erected in the gardens of the Trocadero. An irregular plot of land covering 1,400m² was allotted, on a slope and with a large tree which was conserved and can be seen in photos inside the inner courtyard. The *Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne* was opened by the President of the French Republic on May 24, 1937. However, the pavilion of the Spanish Republic was opened considerably later, since the start of construction was delayed (the foundation stone was placed on February 27 with Luis Araquistáin still as ambassador). Following several delays, the opening ceremony did not finally take place until July, with one invitation for the press on July 10 and the official ceremony on July 12. Afterwards, the pavilion remained closed for a few days for the finishing touches and to mount the exhibits.

According to the official description of the *Rapport Général* of the exhibition, the entrance of the *Pavillon de l'Espagne* was as follows:

En pénétrant dans le portique qui occupait toute la première moitié du rez-de-chaussée, on trouvait à droite une grande peinture murale de Picasso (7 m. sur 3m.50). Au centre de ce portique, une fontaine de mercure montrait l'abondance d'un des produits les plus importants du sol espagnol. À gauche, des vitrines étaient destinées à l'exposition et à la diffusion de livres et imprimés non pas uniquement de propagande actuelle, mais de toute la production contemporaine des lettres et des sciences espagnoles. Du même côté se trouvaient les bureaux du Commissariat et les Services d'Information pour les visiteurs. Le patio, de même que la scène, pouvait être couvert ou découvert à volonté par des velums actionnés électriquement. Au fond du patio, à droite, en regardant la scène, se trouvait le bar, où étaient servis au public des boissons et comestibles authentiquement espagnols.

À gauche du patio une rampe d'accès au second étage du pavillon, par lequel commençait la visite que le public effectuait dans un seul sens de circulation.⁸

According to the well-documented catalog produced by Josefina Alix for the exhibition held in the Reina Sofía Museum in 1987 to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the painting of *Guernica*, the 1937 pavilion

8 Edmond Labbé, dir., *Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne. Rapport Général* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1938–1940), t. IX, *Vue d'ensemble descriptive, Les Sections étrangères*, 172.

“was not just a mere receptacle for objects and information: it was designed as a focal point for the multiple activities that were to be held during the time it would be open,”⁹ so much so that the central courtyard, with a canopy to cover it in case of rain or high temperatures and a wooden stage 80 centimetres above the ground, was designed by architects for this specific purpose.¹⁰

A report dated March 11, 1937, indicates that in compliance with Cabinet agreements, there had been meetings of the representatives of the diverse departments interested in the exhibition, and that the Presidential, Public Education and Propaganda under-secretaries had been appointed to coordinate the necessary tasks. The document stressed that the Spanish Republic was competing in the International Exhibition as an independent state (but not as political parties nor unions). The exceptional circumstances in Spain impeded it from competing “under equal conditions”, although it was considered appropriate to demonstrate at the international forum the “characteristic features” of life at the time. The idea was that through “material, documents, pictures, photographs, etc.,” “the lifeblood of the Spanish people” would become apparent at a dramatic period in their history with a new existence that revealed “so intensely their unmistakable personality”.¹¹

In the same report, there is a description of the five sections of the pavilion. The first section aimed to describe Spain by way of its regions, using photographs, local products and literature. The second focused on visual arts. The third comprised Health and Social Security, War, Industry, Agriculture and Public Education. The fourth would exhibit graphic arts. And finally, in the fifth section, located in the courtyard, with a maximum capacity of 500 people,¹² the following would take place:

9 Alix Trueba, *Pabellón*, 151.

10 “Notice descriptive du Pavillon d’Espagne, Exposition 1937-PARIS,” n.d., file 1857, 9, PS-Madrid, AGGC, Salamanca.

11 Report issued in Valencia, March 11, 1937, file 47, 11, PS-Barcelona, AGGC, Salamanca. We use the verb “palpitar” in Spanish: “la vida entera de pueblo español” debía palpitar en los materiales expuestos.

12 It was subsequently estimated that the courtyard’s capacity was reduced to around 200 people. It can be read in an article signed by Pierre Michaut, “L’Exposition de Paris 1937 donne au cinéma sa véritable place dans la vie moderne,” *Cinématographie Française* 973 (June 25, 1937), 107–109, Archivo Buñuel (Filmoteca Española), Madrid, cited by Puyal, “Películas junto a pinturas,” 4.

- (a) Pequeños grupos de artesanos que fabriquen y confeccionen a la vista del público productos típicos regionales populares.
- (b) Conferencias, lecturas.
- (c) Proyección de películas.
- (d) Espectáculos, bailes, coros, teatro, música.
- (e) Audición de discos.
- (f) Distribución de folletos de propaganda sobre temas concretos acerca de la actuación y actividad de la República.¹³

The philosopher and Chancellor of the Complutense University of Madrid, José Gaos, was named General Commissioner of the pavilion in February 1937 (succeeding Carlos de Batlle, named on July 17, 1936, and who had inadequately fulfilled his functions). Shortly after the foundation stone was laid, an action plan was set out under his stewardship that underlined the advisability of an inter-ministerial commission in Valencia which, according to the document, would work in conjunction with those in Barcelona and Bilbao, and whose tasks were divided into fourteen distinct functions. Given that the plan was to hold the official opening ceremony in the pavilion on May 1 – an unveiling date which as we now know proved to be unfeasible – staggered deadlines were set from April 1st onwards for the different tasks. Two of the fourteen tasks specified in the document in question, corresponding to numbers 10 and 11, are related to music and dance. The first one stipulated the following: “10) Constitute and submit the repository of films and records to be shown or played in section 5; select and send the personnel whose job is to project or play them.” The second proposed: “11) Contract, commit or train the theater troupes and musical or choreographic groups, both professional, amateur or student, who are to take turns in section 5, and send them to Paris as and when is necessary.”¹⁴

Given the haste with which the preparation work for the Paris exhibition had to be conducted, it was important to make prompt contact with the theater, music and dance companies. However, the earliest records for auditions related with these activities that are kept in the Civil War

13 Report issued in Valencia, March 11, 1937, file 47, 11, PS-Barcelona, AGGC, Salamanca.

14 Document without title (“La realización de este plan...”), file 2760, 1, pp. 4, 5, PS-Madrid, AGGC.

Archive are two documents referring to members of the folklore group from Castile, signed by Agapito Marazuela and dated May 27, 1937, to which I will refer later.

A few days later, the inter-ministerial commission deemed that the pavilion could be finished for June 10th, although it mentioned that considering the delays in the shipping of material, the opening of the complex could not take place until June 15 or 18. This said, it considered the possibility of having a partial opening, as had occurred in other pavilions, and expressly mentioned the idea of opening with a festival in the courtyard. Moreover, the document specified the type of show planned to be held in the area as follows:

Espectáculos en el patio

Conviene que una Comisión en Valencia se ocupe de la organización de los programas de las manifestaciones de folklore, conciertos, obras teatrales, conferencias, films y ediciones de discos que han de tener lugar en el patio de nuestro Pabellón. Esta Comisión debería nombrar un responsable que debe estar en comunicación constante con el Comisario General de España en París. Únicamente de esta manera pueden combinarse a su debido tiempo los programas y las fechas de los mismos. Esta Comisión se cuidaría también de la organización de todos los festivales en que tenga que intervenir España, que tendrán lugar en otras salas fuera de nuestro Pabellón.¹⁵

On June 3, José Gaos insisted yet again on the importance of these performances in a letter addressed to Juan Negrín, the new Prime Minister, following the resignation of Largo Caballero, and written in Paris in reply to the request for a detailed estimate of expenses:

Pero una vez el Pabellón acabado, viene su sostenimiento durante todo lo largo de la exposición. Vd. debe de saber que nuestro pabellón tiene un patio con una escena, en donde proyectamos hacer teatro, cine, baile, música, etc... En este programa se puede llegar hasta donde las circunstancias permitan y el Estado quiera en punto a dispendios de funcionamiento, y siendo así es absolutamente imposible dar por adelantado una cifra precisa que alcance a toda la duración de la exposición.¹⁶

15 Report by the inter-ministerial commission, Valencia, May 31, 1937, file 2760, pp. 2, 3, PS-Madrid, AGGC. Image of document in Cabañas Bravo, *Josep Renau*, 179.

16 José Gaos to Juan Negrín, París, June 3, 1937, file 2760, 4-1, PS-Madrid, AGGC.

At that time, written correspondence between José Prat and José Gaos spoke of the imminent visit at the beginning of June of Rodolfo Halffter to the French capital as the head of organization of Spanish music concerts.¹⁷ However, in a letter from the Undersecretary to the Presidency of the Cabinet to the Undersecretary of Propaganda dated June 8 and signed in Valencia, Halffter is not named as concert organizer but as a member of a technical cinema committee.¹⁸ A third document related to the same musician is the minutes of a later inter-ministerial commission meeting held on July 5, where it was agreed to “authorise Mr. Halffter to travel next Sunday to Paris in order to dub into French the film *Castillos en Castilla*.”¹⁹

In the area of music, a hand-written note has also been conserved that appears to detail actions pending as a result of a meeting held on June 15. This memo contains notes of interest to us. Task number 4 is that of “Asking Gaos about the organizing of Spanish operetta (zarzuela) festivals;” number 5, also related with the commissioner, mentions the municipal band, with a question mark at the end of the sentence: “Basques, Castilians?”²⁰ We are unaware as to who wrote these notes, but it is possible that they refer to the options debated at that meeting (attended by José Prat, Alfredo Bauer and Josep Renau) for the opening ceremony or parallel activities to the exhibition following the opening of the pavilion. As far as we know, the zarzuela festivals were not mentioned again in the commission’s documentation or in the correspondence consulted. In contrast, the project to take the

17 José Prat to José Gaos, cited in Cabañas Bravo, “Renau,” 151.

18 Presidencia del Consejo de Ministros to Subsecretario de Propaganda, Valencia, June 8, 1937, file 2760, 16, PS-Madrid, AGGC: “[...] sería necesaria una película semanal hasta la fecha del primero de noviembre del corriente año. / En su virtud, ruego a V.I. se sirva ordenar lo necesario para efectuar este suministro. / Existe ya acuerdo sobre la formación de la Junta Técnica para efectuar esta labor, integrada por los funcionarios Sres. Plaza, Villegas y Halffter.”

19 “Acta de la reunión de la Comisión Interministerial encargada de la participación de España en la Exposición de París,” July 5, 1937, file 2760, 2–5, PS-Madrid, AGGC.

20 Handwritten note from the Interministerial Commission meeting, dated June 15, 1937, file 2760, 2–2, PS-Madrid, AGGC. José Prat, Alfredo Bauer y José Renau. “Preguntar a Gaos sobre organización de festivales de zarzuela;” “vascos, castellanos?”. Image of document in Cabañas Bravo, *Josep Renau*, 176.

municipal band to Paris – as well as the symphonic orchestra – is substantiated in the information sent by the Febus agency from Valencia at 5 o'clock in the afternoon on July 9th and published the following day in *El Sol* and *ABC*.²¹

On June 18, José Gaos considers a new opening date when he informs José Prats that they have decided to do what they can to open the pavilion on the 30th of the month:

[...] con los elementos de que podamos disponer, pues confiamos en poder abrir todas las salas en esa fecha aunque no sea con todo el material, ni siquiera con el material que haya de ocuparlas definitivamente, sino con unas instalaciones provisionales y para los efectos de apertura. Ahora bien, en la medida en que llegue a tiempo el material definitivo, tanto mejor.

Hasta ahora hemos recibido aparte de todo el material vasco que se ha salvado, pues parte del recogido ha perecido en los incidentes de la dura lucha de Vizcaya, el material del Ministerio de Hacienda, parte del de Instrucción y está para llegar una gran masa de Cataluña; creemos que unas cajas cuyo anuncio de llegada acabamos de recibir son el material del Instituto de Previsión y esperamos de un día para otro la llegada de Renau con otra buena partida.²²

It was possibly at that time that a detailed plan for cultural events at the pavilion was designed, combining recitals of recorded music, film and documentary showings, performances by folk groups from Castile, the Basque Country, Catalonia, Valencia, Aragon, Asturias and Andalusia, performances by the university theater company La Barraca and recitals of literary texts and poems by diverse Spanish writers. This appears in the official activity program sent in June (no exact date is available) by the Spanish Commissariat to the General Commissariat of the Paris Exhibition. Due to its importance for our project, we have translated the annex found at the time by Josefina Alix at the Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris, the complete version of which she published in the 1987 catalog.²³ Josefina Alix affirmed then that she did not know with

21 “El próximo lunes será inaugurado en París nuestro pabellón en la Exposición Internacional,” *El Sol*, July 10, 1937, 2; “El pabellón de España. Se inaugurará el lunes en la Exposición Internacional de París,” *ABC*, July 10, 1937, 6.

22 José Gaos to José Prat, June 18, 1937, file 2760, 5, PS-Madrid, AGGC.

23 “Programa oficial de actividades enviado por el Comisariado Español al Comisariado General de la Exposición,” no dated (June 1937), Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris. Original text in Spanish in Alix Trueba, *Pabellón*,

certainty if there had been time for all the performances to be staged, since they were planned to begin at the end of June and the pavilion was still unfinished then. Moreover, the intended cultural program came under threat on several occasions both financially and more particularly due to difficulties involving the war. In the same month of June, there is documentation that refers to the changes to the initial plan for an independent area for Catalonia and Euskadi in the Republic's pavilion, with the subsequent need to make modifications.²⁴

However, the plan to perform different types of Spanish folklore dances was published in both French and Spanish media. For example, the *Ce soir* daily newspaper confirmed that the Spanish pavilion stage would host dances from three Spanish regions: "les coblas catalanes et leurs sardanes, les danseuses de jotas aragonaises ou castillanes, et des projections de films,"²⁵ and much later, A. Loewel published in *Mi revista* the following information: "cantadores y bailarines de todas las regiones hispánicas darán espectáculos de arte popular; la compañía estudiantil La Barraca representará obras de Lope de Vega, entremeses de Cervantes, autos sacramentales de Calderón."²⁶

The Opening of the Pavilion of the Spanish Republic

Following several postponements, the unveiling of the Spanish pavilion finally took place in July. There were two acts. The first, on Saturday, July 10, was for the press, as suggested by Xammar (the embassy press

152–153; also in Palacios, "La música en las exposiciones internacionales," 240–241.

24 Manuel de Irujo (ministro de Justicia) to Juan Negrín (presidente del Consejo de Ministros), June 22, 1937, file 2760, 12, PS-Madrid, AGGC. "Se proyectó la Exposición de París bajo el supuesto de que dentro del pabellón del Estado tendrían local autónomo los países con tal carácter reconocidos, Cataluña y Euzkadi.

Ahora resulta que se niega esta disposición, con lo cual se facilita el planteamiento de la exposición, a base de suprimir de ella iniciativas y matices del mayor interés. No quiero ocultarle la contrariedad que eso supone y que presumo habrá de reflejarse en la cuestión indicada [...]."

25 *Ce soir*, July 13, 1937, 5.

26 A. Loewel, "La Exposición de París 1937," *Mi revista*, August 15, 1937, 24. This report was written in Paris when the Pavilion was yet to be opened.

attaché), with 150 journalists present.²⁷ The second and more official event, held on July 12, with speeches by José Gaos, Edmond Labbé and Ambassador Ángel Ossorio, was heard by some 300 people, but without the presence of any French government representatives.²⁸ Further to this double unveiling, there was also another, with an unspecified date, called “Party for artists and workers of the pavilion” and attended by such leading figures as Pablo Picasso and Joan Miró and during which the “young ladies of the Catalan Cobla” performed on the stage in the courtyard, as can be seen in photographs sent by the Commissioner to the Ambassador and kept in the Historical Memory Documentation Center.²⁹

Regarding the musical and choreographic part of these acts, we have some of the comments made by Ossorio and Gaos. In a letter to Jesús Hernández, Minister for Public Education, dated June 28 and therefore written just two weeks before the official opening of the pavilion, the Spanish ambassador to France gave his impression of the exhibition after his visit:

El conjunto de la Exposición es para mi gusto lamentable. Tiene toda ella el aspecto de barracas de feria. No dudo que en Lugo, Cáceres o Zamora sería cosa deslumbrante, pero aquí da el efecto que le digo, sobre todo si se acuerda uno de nuestras maravillosas exposiciones de Barcelona y Sevilla.

27 “Copia de una carta de Gaos,” July 21, 1937, file 2760, 7–1, p. 1, PS-Madrid, AGGC.

28 José Gaos was somewhat unhappy: “El lunes 12 fue la inauguración. Tuvimos dos cosas en contra. El tiempo lluvioso. La coincidencia con la inauguración del pabellón de la Enseñanza. / Después de hablar con el Embajador, yo invité al Ministro de Comercio y al de Educación. El primero, ni me ha contestado. El segundo me contestó muy afectuoso, disculpándose con aquella coincidencia. Fue también causa de un retraso de más de media hora en el comienzo de nuestro acto, por tener que esperar al Comisario General Francés. / No asistió un solo representante del Gobierno francés. ¿Causas? [...] En fin de cuentas, nada me consta positivo certeramente, ésta es la verdad. Pero la ausencia del Gobierno fue notada y ha sido comentada en la Prensa – *Humanité, Action Française, Vendredi*–. Asistieron los Embajadores de Rusia y Méjico. No el Ministro de Checoslovaquia. Fueron los tres diplomáticos invitados según indicaciones de la Embajada.” “Copia de una carta de Gaos,” July 21, 1937, file 2760, 7–1, p. 1, PS-Madrid, AGGC.

29 Fotografías, 42, PS-Madrid, AGGC. Explanations in file 2760, 10, PS-Madrid, AGGC.

Nuestro Pabellón es pequeño, demasiado pequeño, pero de buen gusto [...].³⁰

In this same document, Ossorio transmitted his worries to the minister concerning the best way to embellish the act with something artistic:

Otra cosa que me preocupa es lo referente a la fiesta inaugural. El leer unas poesías de García Lorca, si es que cabe hacer de ellas una buena traducción (cosa que dudo), me parece atinado; la exhibición de una película, si es buena, también estará en su lugar. Pero los bailes populares, sobre ser cosa discordante con nuestra situación, se presta[n] un poco a las críticas que siempre ha acarreado la España de pandereta.

Habíamos pensado también dar una recepción nocturna en el jardín de la Embajada, que tiene mucha más capacidad que el Pabellón. Veríamos si aquí podría hacerse algo de música y dar un refrigerio. Espero que me digan Vds. su opinión [...].³¹

Additionally, Gaos' communication with Ossorio demonstrates to us that the ambassador's reserves were not only directed towards popular dance but also specifically at Flamenco, and that at some point the possibility of a performance by Castilian dancers at the Embassy was entertained:

En cuanto a los bailarines y al cantor segovianos, únicos artistas de que disponemos por ahora, puesto que usted no quiere flamenco, lo único que puedo decirle es que, estando aquí por cuenta nuestra, a base de la pensión y de una paga de 20 francos diarios por persona, podrán actuar en la Embajada sin más remuneración que el obsequio en metálico o en especie que V. les quiera hacer.³²

It is apparent that, amongst other difficulties that made it advisable to delay the party, there were discrepancies between Gaos and Ossorio regarding the organization of the same:

La inauguración del Pabellón ha tenido que aplazarse forzosamente de nuevo unos ocho días más: por no acabar de llegar el material esperado, ni personas como Renau, absolutamente necesarias para proceder a su instalación; por una huelga y un *lock-out* que hemos sufrido estos días; por la necesidad de

30 Unsigned letter [from Ángel Ossorio], written to Jesús Hernández (ministro de Instrucción Pública), París, June 28, 1937, Asuntos Exteriores 10 [96], file 54/11097, exp. 4491, AGA, Alcalá de Henares.

31 Ossorio to Jesús Hernández (ministro de Instrucción Pública), París, June 28, 1937, Asuntos Exteriores 10 [96], file 54/11097, exp. 4491, AGA, Alcalá de Henares.

32 Gaos to Ossorio, no dated, Asuntos Exteriores 10 [96], file 54/11097, exp. 4491, AGA, Alcalá de Henares.

conocer si viene alguna personalidad de ahí de Valencia, y quién sea; en fin, por discrepar el Embajador del proyecto primitivo de fiesta inaugural, que de todas maneras había de modificarse en razón de las últimas circunstancias.³³

The disagreements between Gaos and Ossorio in other areas have been highlighted by several authors. It is clear that the new ambassador did not have a similar disposition to that of Luis Araquistáin, dismissed following the crisis with Largo Caballero: he was Catholic, had a difficult character, and apparently behaved in an excessively interventionist way with the activities in the Spanish pavilion and Republican propaganda in general.³⁴

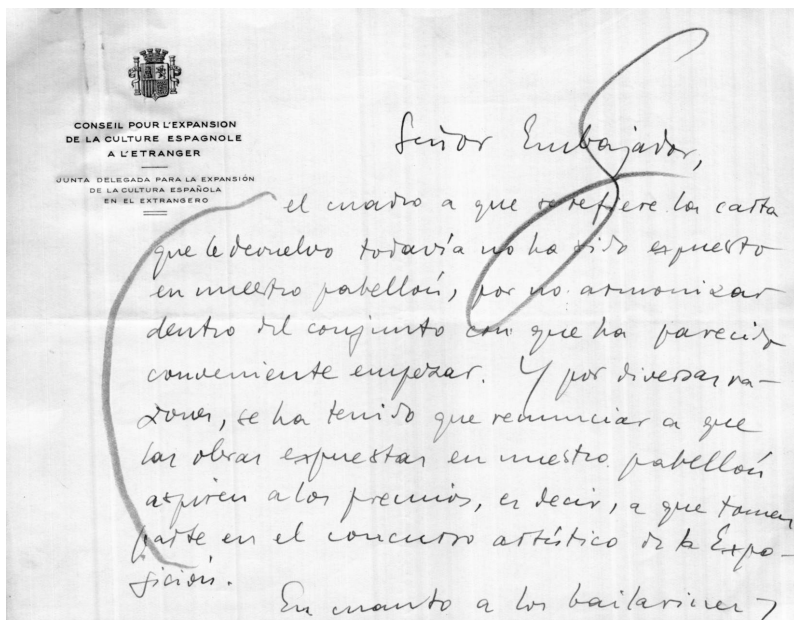
With regard to the recital in French of poems by García Lorca that the Spanish ambassador mentioned in his letter dated June 28, there are two further subsequent disclosures. In a note sent by Gaos to Ossorio, several details are discussed about the preparations for the opening ceremony. In this context, the commissioner writes: “the name of the reciter, which I do not remember, and which I will not know until this afternoon”.³⁵ A separate typewritten document that mentions a certain Gracià notes that on July 3 Gaos had called to give the name and telephone number of the French-Spanish reciter (Germana Heyegel) [*sic*, by Heygel] and that Mr. Casso[u] had promised to deliver with immediate effect the translation of the poems entitled “Casada Infel”, “La luna luna” and “La

33 José Gaos to José Prat (subsecretario de la Presidencia del Consejo de Ministros en Valencia), París, June 24, 1937, file 2760, 6–1, p. 2, PS-Madrid, AGGC.

34 See Hugo García, “La propaganda exterior de la República durante la Guerra Civil. Origen, éxitos y miserias de los servicios de París,” *Mélanges de la Casa Velázquez*, 39, no 1 (2009): 215–240. Additionally, the Ambassador remembered the “diplomatic world pretence” he had had to maintain in Paris while suffering for his sons on the front. The Embassy was required to celebrate festivities, hold parties, organize meals and, amongst other events, Ossorio mentions the opening ceremony of the pavilion. For him, this was a “¡Terrible tortura! Cuando despedíamos al último invitado y quedábamos fuera de la vigilancia de la servidumbre los tres nos retirábamos a llorar; a llorar y a esperar la espantosa noticia. Jamás he sufrido dolor tan hondo y tan continuado.” Ángel Ossorio, *La España de mi vida: autobiografía* (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1941), 172–173.

35 José Gaos to Ángel Ossorio, no dated, file 54/11097, exp. 4491, Asuntos Exteriores 10 [96], AGA, Alcalá de Henares.

Guardia Civil".³⁶ It is clear that until at least July 3, the plan was to recite in French the three poems mentioned by Federico García Lorca, who was honoured with a display case in the pavilion almost one year after his murder, although none of the documents consulted describing the acts corroborate that the recital did indeed take place.



36 París, July 3, 1937, Gracià, file 54/11097, exp. 4491, Asuntos Exteriores 10 [96], AGA. The Franco-Spanish actress Germaine Heygel, who at 18 years old had moved to Spain to join La Barraca, used the Spanish pseudonym of Germana Montero as suggested by Max Aub. See Gérard Malgat, *Max Aub y Francia o la esperanza traicionada* (Sevilla: Renacimiento, 2007), 77. As for Jean Cassou, along with Jean Camp he was responsible for the translation into French of *Fuenteovejuna*, the work by Lope de Vega that should have been staged during the Exhibition, but which for a number of reasons was not performed until later, in the Théâtre du Peuple in February 1938. See Peral Vega, *Retablos de agitación*, 146.

el canto teofoniano, únicos artistas que
 disponemos por ahora, puesto que este es el único
 flamenco, lo único que puedo decirle es que,
 estando aquí por cuenta nuestra, a base de
 la pensión y de una paga de 20 francos diarios
 por persona, podrán actuar en la Embajada
 sin más remuneración que el obsequio en
 metálico o especie que V. les quiera hacer.

Gaos

~~FIGURE 1: ESPAÑA. MINISTERIO DE CULTURA. ARCHIVO GENERAL DE LA ADMINISTRACIÓN. Letter from José Gaos to Ángel Ossorio proposing the performance of the dancers from Segovia at the Embassy, no dated, Asuntos Exteriores 10 [96], file 54/11097, exp. 4491.~~

The only music mentioned in the documents that describe the opening ceremony of the pavilion (mentioning speeches, the visit of the pavilion and the buffet) is that of the national anthems played by the Coblá Barcelona following the speeches: *La Marsellaise* and the *Himno de Riego*.³⁷ However, musical activity was the protagonist during the party held in the Spanish embassy on July 12 itself and that started at 21.30 with the performing of no less than 12 vocal and instrumental works.³⁸ Following the concert, the public crossed to the garden, where the Coblá Barcelona

37 “La République Espagnole ouvre aujourd’hui son pavillon,” *L’Humanité*, July 13, 1937, 8.

38 The concert program included a work by José Serrano (excerpts from *La Reina Mora*, by Orquestina Española), a list of songs performed by soprano Conchita Badía (*Tres comptines* by Mompou; *Elegía d’una rosa*, by Valls; *L’enemic de les dones*, by Gerhard), three dance pieces by Falla, by pianist Alejandro Vilalta (*Danza del molinero*, *Danza del terror* and *Danza ritual del fuego*), another set of songs, by Badía (*Romance de Solita*, by Pittaluga; *La maja y el ruiseñor*,

again performed the Spanish and French national anthems, in addition to six popular Catalan “sardanas” (traditional dances): *La ciseta* (Toldrà), *El cant des ocells* (Pep Ventura), *Dolç pensament* (Juncá), *Per tu ploro* (Pep Ventura), *La reina de les flors* (Serra) and *La Santa Espina* (Morera).³⁹

The cost of the party held in the embassy was recorded in a document dated July 20 and sent from the embassy to José Gaos to substantiate the 50,000 francs earmarked for this act (the total expenses left a surplus of 8,701.50). Thanks to this document, we know that the singer Conchita Badía, the pianist Alejandro Vilalta and the Coblá received 3,000 francs each for their participation, and the Orquestina Española was paid 1,965 francs,⁴⁰ therefore meaning that a total of 10,965 francs were spent on music for the party.

In spite of the pavilion being opened with limited contents, the result of the unveiling acts conducted by the commisssioner was positive. In a document dated July 21, 1937, Gaos writes about the two-fold opening ceremony and the opening ceremony on July 12:

[...] El acto, con todo, resultó muy bien. Ordenado y digno. Discurso mío. Discurso del Comisario francés. Discurso del Embajador. Himnos nacionales por la Coblá de Barcelona. Visita al Pabellón y “buffet.”

La recepción en la Embajada por la noche estuvo todavía mejor. Más gente oficial que por la tarde. Tono irreprochable, Satisfacción general.⁴¹

In the same document however, Gaos tells of the enormous difficulties in receiving and getting the material in the pavilion, as well as his concerns about the neglect of the folk art section, which he considered of the utmost importance. As for the “dynamic section:”

by Granados; *Jota*, by Falla; *El retrato de Isabela*, by Vives), and the Interlude of *La boda de Luis Alonso*, by Giménez, by Orquestina Española.

39 Program “Embajada de España. Concierto con motivo de la inauguración del Pabellón Español en la Exposición Internacional de París,” July 12, 1937 (Imprenta de J. Solsona, 9 Rue Hallé – Paris-14°. Téléphone: Gobelins 62-71), Asuntos Exteriores 10 [96], file 54/11097, exp. 4491, AGA. Image of document in Cabañas Bravo, *Josep Renau*, 190.

40 Asuntos Exteriores 10 [96], file 54/11097, exp. 4491, AGA.

41 “Copia de una carta de Gaos,” July 21, 1937, file 2760, 7-1, p. 1, PS-Madrid, AGGC.

En fin, en cuanto al patio, destinado esencialmente a grupos de artesanos y a las manifestaciones escénicas, la situación es ésta:

Tenemos aquí un par de obreros de Eibar, con los que vamos a empezar. Y a [sic] la promesa de dos o tres grupos más de artesanos catalanes.

Gracias a Buñuel, tenemos asegurado el cine para dos o tres semanas. Y adquiriéndolos por medio de Alejo Carpentier, tendremos una buena colección de discos de música española. En cuanto a los grupos de canto y baile popular, después de habernos dicho usted que no vendrían por las dificultades del servicio militar, es decir, de dejar salir a quien esté sujeto a éste, Prat nos dijo por teléfono que vendrían y que el primero, el castellano, llegaría dentro de muy pocos días. Yo me permito decir solamente que, en la concepción del pabellón, a que ha respondido la construcción, la actuación de esos grupos era lo fundamental con la mencionada sección de Arte Popular. Si no vienen, el patio con su escena, es decir, la sección dinámica y viva del pabellón se pierde.⁴²

Some of the difficulties voiced were resolved with the arrival of Josep Renau, Ceferino Palencia’s pottery collection, and the shipping of regional costumes to exhibited on seven tailor’s dummies. From other documents, we know that the courtyard bar had a record player that played Spanish music, thanks specifically to Alejo Carpentier, as pointed out by Gaos, due to his post as manager of the Fonoric studios in Paris.⁴³ As for Luis Buñuel – who incidentally disliked Picasso’s *Guernica* –,⁴⁴ he had travelled to Paris to collaborate with the embassy headed by Araquistáin, and remained there until the end of the war, in charge of propaganda and everything related to the cinema. He himself recalled his friendship with the composer Fernando Remacha, one of the managers of Filmosono, where the filmmaker also worked.⁴⁵

42 Ibid., p. 2.

43 Note by Alfonso Rangel Guerra in *José Gaos: Obras completas. XIX, Epistolario y papeles privados* (México: Instituto de Investigaciones Filosóficas de la UNAM, 1999), 196. In the Civil War Archive, there is a receipt in the name of Ch. Wolff dated October 4, 1937, revealing that 1,860 French francs were reimbursed for the purchase of 155 Spanish music records. File 94, PS-Barcelona, AGGC.

44 See Puyal, “Películas junto a pinturas,” 5.

45 The filmmaker gave form to his memories throughout the Civil War years in *Luis Buñuel, Mi último suspiro* (Barcelona: Debolsillo, 2012), 190–217.

The Dance Troupes Selected. Militia Dancers from Castile and Euskadi

In the performance draft drawn up in mid-June and conserved in the Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris, the initial plan was for six dance troupes (Castilian, Basque, Valencian, Aragonese, Asturian and Andalusian) who would alternate on the pavilion stage. However, it would appear that in the end, the number of performances realised in Paris was reduced to three: the female dancers of the Cobla Barcelona, who were already in the French capital,⁴⁶ the Segovian troupe led by Agapito Marazuela, and a troupe of Basque “ezpatadantzaris”.

Furthermore, the Esbart Dansaires had been originally scheduled to take part in the opening ceremony of the Medieval Catalan Art Exhibition, but the dancers did not arrive in time due to complications with permit formalities, as well as the issuing of passports for men who were of enlistment age.⁴⁷

La Cobla Barcelona performed in the party organized for artists and workers, as well as in the opening ceremony acts of July 12, both in the pavilion (where, in addition to the national anthems, the six previously mentioned sardanas were performed, even though no source can actually confirm that the dances took place). The participation of a Catalan troupe had also been planned for the Gala de la Danse on July 2, paid for by the French Ministry of Commerce and Industry and with a ballet directed by Teresina Boronat (*Impressions campéroles*, by Serra, as published in the press),⁴⁸ but once again the Catalan dancers could not cross the border. Teresina Boronat, a dancer trained at the Liceo de Barcelona and settled in Paris for several years, had to perform on her own, with the musical accompaniment of the Cobla Barcelona,⁴⁹ on the immense stage of the Grand Palais – 50 metres by 40 metres – one of the exhibition’s large theaters with a capacity for 10,000 people.⁵⁰

46 According to Murga, between February and November 1937 the Cobla Barcelona was on tour in several European countries. Murga Castro, “La escenografía de la danza,” 328.

47 José Gaos to José Prat (subsecretario de la Presidencia del Consejo de Ministros en Valencia), París, June 24, 1937, file 2760, 6–1, p. 1, PS-Madrid, AGGC.

48 *Le Journal*, July 2, 1937, 9.

49 *Paris-Midi*, July 2, 1937, 5, and July 4, 1937, 6.

50 According to *L’Illustration*, July 10, 1937, cutting R 135590 (“Le théâtre et l’Exposition 1937 I”), Salle Ovale, Richelieu, Bibliothèque nationale de France,

According to the preparatory arrangements for this performance, Spain would offer two works: a Catalan ballet with the participation of Ventura Gassol – choreographed by Teresina with the participation of the Cobla de Barcelona – and another ballet with music by Granados and performed by the Orquesta Colonne, directed by Paul Paray. The latter included 40 gypsy dancers in a Goyesque style dress approved by José Gaos, commissioner of the Spanish pavilion, but without any mention of a choreographer.⁵¹ The budget for the Spanish participation in the *Gala de la danse* was originally 20,000 francs (February 7, 1937) including the Catalan dancers (May 25), but was then reduced to 15,000 francs (“expense sheet”, July 27) and assumed by the organizing committee, therefore not apparently paid for by the Spanish pavilion commissioners.⁵²

Later, nineteen young ladies from the Catalan troupe danced sardanas on the pavilion’s courtyard stage on at least July 26, 27 and 28 as published in several press articles.⁵³ On July 27, *Le Populaire* affirmed that the previous day “une foule nombreuse les a admirées et appludies. Elles

Paris, 8,000 guests attended the Danse Gala. Of the many parties that took place, this one was of great importance for the French organizers, since as is well known, France considers ballet and dance as national heritage. The Gala was organized by Fernand Chapsal, Minister of Commerce and Industry, and Edmond Labbé, the general commissioner of the exhibition. The program on July 2 was composed of colonial dances from French West Africa, the Günther Ballets from Munich, Teresina accompanied by the Orquestre des Concerts Colonne and the Cobla de Barcelona, the Monte-Carlo Ballets, Serge Lifar (in *Icare*), the Opéra de Paris ensemble bolstered by elements from the Châtelet, and the Rockettes Girls, brought expressly from the United States and who were undoubtedly the greatest success of the session.

51 Dandelot to Barbeau, May 6, 1937, Service des Fêtes – XI - F¹² 12203, Archives nationales de France (Pierrefitte-sur-Seine), Paris. In this document, Dandelot affirms that in the absence of Lehmann, he has achieved the participation of artists from several countries in the Gala. Given the mention of Granados in the musical section, and the “Goya style” dress, it could perhaps be “Goyescas”, but this is a mere supposition.

52 Documents dated February 7, May 25 and July 27, 1937, file F¹² 12203 – XI-Fête de la Danse, Archives nationales de France (Pierrefitte-sur-Seine), Paris. The total budget handled by the organizing committee of the gala was 350,000 francs, of which the Rockettes took the largest share.

53 *Le Populaire*, July 27, 1937, 3; *L’Homme libre*, July 28, 1937, 3.

Les Rocketts, Teresina, Lijar

les Ballets Günther, les danseuses de l'Opéra, ont triomphé l'autre soir au Grand-Palais

Le grand gala International de la Danse qui eut lieu l'autre nuit au Grand Palais fut une réussite absolue.

Et les huit mille invités de l'Exposition — la soirée était organisée par M. Chapsal, ministre du commerce, et M. Labbé, haut-commissaire — eurent la joie d'assister à une fête d'une classe exceptionnelle.

Un ensemble étourdissant de discipline, de rythme et de verve. La « Béghine of the Béghine » fut acclamée, ainsi que ce finale tricolore qui fut, hélas, leur dernière apparition.

Les jeunes danseuses allemandes du Ballet Günther firent une remarquable exhibition. Le bleu sombre, coupé de

L'excellente exhibition du corps de ballet de l'Opéra, dans le ballet de « Faust », et la pittoresque cohorte des nègres de l'A. O. F. accompagnés de leur tam-tam, furent longuement applaudis.

Enfin, seule sur cet immense plateau, Teresina fut admirable. J'avoue avoir



nelle. Même l'organisation matérielle de la représentation, la réception et le placement du public étaient parfaitement au point. Et l'élégance d'une salle où se reconnaissent les plus illustres personnalités politiques, théâtrales, parisiennes, n'a pas peu contribué à l'impression harmonieuse de l'ensemble.

Dans le Grand Palais si heureusement transformé, les 48 Rocketts girls, qui traversèrent l'Atlantique pour cette unique représentation, firent des débuts éclatants. On n'avait jamais admiré encore à Paris un ensemble si parfaitement réglé : 48 jeunes filles, jolies, qui, malgré l'automatisme de leurs mouvements, laissent une rare impression de grâce.

clair, de leurs robes, la douceur et l'harmonie irrécusable de leurs gestes, le fond de leurs évolutions, tout concourt à prouver une exquise impression de fraîcheur et de pureté.

Tant dans les « Elfes » que dans les danses poloviennes du « Prince Igor », les Ballets de Monte-Carlo de M. René Blum retrouvèrent le succès légitime qui les accompagna naguère.

Utilisant l'escalier monumental installé au Grand Palais, Serge Lifar présenta une nouvelle mise en scène d'« Icare ».

Il ne m'y parut jamais si émouvant. Jamais la puissance, le désespoir, l'effort acharné, la grandeur du personnage ne furent mieux exprimés par Lifar.

éprouvée là, pour la première fois, son incomparable classe.

Tantôt vive, souple, légère, tantôt grave, crispée, elle unit la fierté et la grâce.

La beauté de son visage et de ses corps s'accompagne d'une infinie diversité d'expression. Durant qu'elle dansait l'autre soir, elle eut la rare faveur, en un instant, d'obtenir des huit mille spectateurs, cette qualité de silence qui témoigne l'admiration.

A ses côtés, les pittoresques musiciens catalans furent très applaudis.

Charles GOMBAULT.

FIGURE 2: Gala de la danse, *Paris Soir*, July 7, 1937.

danseront à nouveau aujourd'hui et demain à la même heure, au pavillon espagnol."⁵⁴ It should be noted that in this troupe, the dancers were female

54 *Le Populaire*, July 27, 1937, 3. A picture of the young ladies dancing was published in "España en la Exposición Internacional de París," *Abora*, September 2, 1937, 8. Additionally, two photographs have survived of the Catalan dancers performing at the workers' and artists' party, with the caption "La Coblá

and the musicians male, whereas in the other two groups, the Castilian and the Basque, all the dancers were men, as will be explained below.

With regard to the formation of the Castilian group, it is worth mentioning the contents of two typed documents dated May 27 and signed by Agapito Marazuela about its composition. The first is a list of members of the troupe, a total of 15 names, some of which have been crossed out and others added by hand. The names that have been crossed out are those of the dancers Juan Miguel del Pozo García and Jesús María Calle (both members of the Brigade) and of the renowned dancer Luis Gil Martín Rodríguez (communist).⁵⁵ The names added by hand are those of Celedonia Lagunilla Iñarritu and José Castro Escudero (the latter has also been crossed out). At the end of the document it says: “to Joaquín Barral.”

The second document, without amendments or crossings out and that could well be a “clean” copy of the first, includes the names of twelve men between the ages of 30 and 56. One of them is ranked as the “war commissioner” (Alberto Barral López) and another as an “artist” (Agapito Marazuela); the other ten are “peasants.” Number 13 is the only woman, who also appears on the other list: Celedonia Lagunilla Iñarritu.⁵⁶ In reference to the role of each member of the group, there are nine dancers, a “renowned” dancer,⁵⁷ a piper, a drummer, and a director. Each person’s age, profession, and membership of a union or political party is noted. Here, it is interesting to elaborate on the affiliations of

Catalana en el teatro del Pabellón Español” in a circle and bowing (C042–046a and C042–047a, PS-FOTO, AGGC), both taken by the photographer Roness-Rouan and reproduced in Cabañas Bravo, *Josep Renau*, 194.

55 In a document dated the end of July, it is stated that Luis Gil-Martín is “an employee of the Water, Gas and Electricity company.” Subsecretario del Ministerio de Comunicaciones, Transportes y Obras Públicas to subsecretario de la Presidencia del Consejo de Ministros, file 2760, 19, PS-Madrid, AGGC.

56 In 1927 and 1928 Celestina Lagunilla Iñarritu had been spokesperson of the Junta Directiva de la Masa Coral de Madrid, a body presided over in the 1930s by Ambassador Ángel Ossorio. We are unaware as to whether there was an earlier contact that could have influenced in the fact that Celedonia Lagunilla was sent to Paris and received a salary of 3,000 francs for her work during the month of August (on the 13th, she was given an advance payment of 1,000 francs, confirmed in a receipt kept in file 2760, 39, PS-Madrid, AGGC).

57 This document details that should no renowned dancer attend, they would be substituted by Eduardo Tuyá Benito, aged, 30, a government employee and sympathiser of Unión Republicana.

the second list: two of the peasant dancers belong to UGT; the renowned dancer is the war commissioner and a member of the 43rd Brigade; the piper and the drummer – both peasants – are socialists; the director of the group is a communist; and another two dancers are brigade members, one from the third battalion of the 67th Brigade and the other from the second battalion of the 42nd Brigade. The document remarks that one of the peasant dancers has been evacuated to Murcia, and that it would be recommendable for those in the Militia to be available at least ten days to two weeks before the performance in order to rehearse.⁵⁸

The group coordinator, Agapito Marazuela (1891–1983), was undoubtedly left wing, a member of the Communist Party since 1932 – for which reason he would spend six years in prison during the Francoist period – and a collaborator of Emiliano Barral in the organization of the Segovian Antifascist Militia. For many years, Marazuela had been an outstanding academic and performer of Castilian folk music, playing both the dulzaina (pipe) and the guitar. His *Colección de Cantares de Castilla* won an award in the National Music Contest in 1933. In 1936 he was asked to select folklore ensembles for the Barcelona People's Olympiad, which was subsequently suspended following the events of July 18.⁵⁹

According to Fernando Martín, Agapito Marazuela had been entrusted with the coordination of three traditional dance troupes (from Andalusia, Aragon and Castile) for the Paris exhibition, although the first two

58 Both of the documents were letter-headed Frente Popular del Centro Segoviano and had the same title, “Relación de los que forman el grupo folklórico de Castilla,” in file 2760, 19, PS-Madrid, AGGC. In addition to Celedonia Lagunilla Iñárritu, the non-deleted names that we think are on the second list are the following: Pedro del Barrio Garci Martín, Juan Francisco Gómez Llorente, Félix Bermejo de Andrés, Paulino Llorente, Mauricio Gómez Rodríguez, Francisco del Pozo García, Lucio Moreno García, Calixto Gómez Herrero, Alberto Barral López (“danzante de respeto”), Paulino Gómez Llorente (“dulzainero”), Mariano Llorente Herrero (“tamborilero”) and Agapito Marazuela Albornos (“director”).

59 For more information regarding this folklorist see Manuel González Herrero, *Agapito Marazuela o el despertar del alma castellana* (Segovia: Diputación de Segovia, 1986, 2 ed. 1995), who asserts that the members of the Paris troupe were Abades' dancers (p. 24); and also the joint authorship record-book, Joaquín Díaz et al., *Agapito Marazuela de verdad. 1891–1983* (Segovia: Diputación de Segovia, 2013).

confirmed their absence two weeks before the trip, the group from Segovia being the only one to finally travel to the French capital.⁶⁰

In the Civil War document archive are other later documents related with foreign travel permits for enlistable aged men or for those who were currently in armed service. It was not apparently possible to conduct the formalities until the end of July (numerous documents involving these procedures are dated July 25, one dated August 4 and another dated August 5). There is a report by the Director General of Security about one of the dancers – Francisco del Pozo García – warning of his record as a fascist, which would explain why his name had been crossed off the list. On August 5, the Ministry of Defense issued an authorisation allowing Joaquín Barral to travel to Paris.⁶¹ Once the final composition of the troupe had been decided and the militia and foreign travel permits had been issued, we know that the Castile dancers left Barcelona on August 8 for Paris.⁶² It is clear that due to the delaying of the process over a period of two months, the Segovian dancers did not arrive in Paris in time to rehearse, and almost certainly for this reason – and because Ossorio did not want to – they could not perform in the embassy party.

Meanwhile, arrangements were made for another group of Basque *ezpatadantzaris* (sword dance group). On July 22 the War Representative of the Euskadi Government Office in Catalonia requested from Barcelona that “in accordance with the request made by Mr. Ucelay, the Euskadi government representative at the Paris International Exhibition, by virtue of prior agreements between the Euskadi representative office in Paris and of this city regarding the performance of the *ezpatadantzaris* troupe in our exhibition pavilions,” the young men of the troupe, who were “of conscription age” – another document referred to those “less than 45 years old”⁶³–, could leave Spain at the earliest possible opportunity, since the performances of the folk troupes were to begin in the pavilion the following week.⁶⁴ Thirteen of the fifteen dancers who appear on

60 Martín Martín, *El pabellón*, 201.

61 File 2760, 19, PS-Madrid, AGGC.

62 As appears in an official telegram sent by the Presidencia del Consejo de Ministros to José Gaos, August 8, 1937, file 2760, 19, PS-Madrid, AGGC.

63 Presidencia del Consejo de Ministros to ministro de Defensa Nacional, July 23, 1937, file 2760, 19, PS-Madrid, AGGC.

64 “Relación de individuos que integran el grupo de *ezpatadantzaris* llamados a filas,” Barcelona, July 22, 1937, file 2760, 18, PS-Madrid, AGGC.

the list attached to the above-mentioned document belonged to the 142nd Brigade, namely the Basque-Pyrenees Mixed Brigade, where Basque militiamen who had been sent to Catalonia fought.⁶⁵ The only *ezpatadantazis* who did not belong to this brigade were Jesús Menique Andicoechea (attached to the Euskadi representative office in Madrid) and Ignacio Menchaca Beristain (from the Madrid ground forces).

Other telegrams, documents and requests regarding military permits and the issuing of an official collective passport for the Basque dancers were sent from the Euskadi representative offices in Valencia and Barcelona on July 23 and 29, as well as August 11.⁶⁶ The last of the documents (a telegram) refers to the need for an advance payment to begin the trip. It specifies that the dancers who were paid as militiamen would have their wages advanced so long as they were repaid when the authority claiming them back accepted responsibility for expenses.⁶⁷

However, we know that for several reasons, the trip did not finally take place. In addition to the difficulties arising from the war, the Basque troupe's trip was hindered by the lack of coordination of the authorities in charge, and because the performance by the French-Basque troupes in the exhibition's *Centre Rural* had already been planned.⁶⁸

Dance and Cinema in the Courtyard. The Spanish Population Fighting against Fascism

As previously explained, the Segovian troupe departed Barcelona by train on August 8, heading for Paris. However, they did not perform for the first time in the exhibition until the 14th of the same month. The unsigned document, probably written by José Gaos and dated August 23, 1937, describes as follows the first event in which Marazuela's troupe took part:

65 The militiamen were Saturnino Acha Echebarría, Camilo Lekerica Oleagordia, Félix Igartua Mendiguren, Lorenzo Suquía Ibarguren, Joaquín Fernández Atienza, Félix Rotaeta Bilbao, José Lezaun Díaz, Juan Letamendi Murúa, José Olascoaga Mardaras, Alberto Lasa Badiola, Ignacio Sarasola Martínez, Luis Arrieta Aragonés and Luis Frutos Vida.

66 All in file 2760, 18, PS-Madrid, AGGC.

67 Díaz de Mendibil to Alfredo Bauer, Valencia, August 11, 1937, file 2760, 18, PS-Madrid, AGGC.

68 Documentation from the Euskadi government in file 47, 11, PS-Barcelona, AGGC.

El sábado 14 tuvo lugar en el pabellón de España una fiesta para la presentación del grupo castellano. Acudió un numerosísimo público que llenó totalmente el amplio patio de nuestro pabellón.

El programa fue el siguiente:

- 1.º *El ejército popular* (cine)
- 2.º Los bailadores de Segovia
- 3.º *La ruta de Don Quijote* (cine)
- 4.º Los bailadores de Segovia
- 5.º *Actualidades* (cine)
- 6.º *Tribunal de las Aguas* (cine)
- 7.º *Niños de hoy y hombres de mañana* (cine)

La actuación de los bailarines constituye un éxito extraordinario.⁶⁹

In order to fully understand the character of the performance, it is important to note that the young Catalan ladies, accompanied by the Cobla Barcelona, had danced on three days in July from 5 o'clock to 7 o'clock in the afternoon with natural daylight and without any on-stage distractions. However, the performances by the Castilian troupe had taken place later in the day and between film projections, generally alternating between such diverse topics as current affairs and war documentaries (the first and last projection on August 14th was precisely this), geographical or cultural documentaries (for example *Una visión documental de la ruta de Don Quijote*), and other agrarian or industrial topics (*Tribunal de las Aguas*, concerning irrigation management).⁷⁰ A subsequent document details the program of another night time party which also combined cinema, dance and music: “*Castillos en Castilla* (cinema), the dancers from Segovia and Marazuela, flamenco,”⁷¹ all of which leads us to believe that this mixed formula was common.

69 Without signature [attributed to José Gaos], “Fiesta en el Pabellón de España para la presentación del grupo castellano,” Paris, August 23, 1937, file 2760, 19, PS-Madrid, AGGC.

70 More details about these reels and cinema in the pavilion can be found in Puyal, “Películas junto a pinturas.”

71 In this letter (undated) Gaos invited Ossorio to the party to be held the following day at nine in the evening; he had also invited the Minister of Commerce and the French General Commissariat and thought it likely that Minister Huymans would attend too. File 54/11097, exp. 4491, Asuntos Exteriores 10 [96], AGA.

During the first performance by the Segovian troupe, Gaos read a very interesting text. Below is a section of the first part, taken from the type-written document:

[...] Se conocen bastante bien los cantos asturianos, gallegos, aragoneses o andaluces, pero los de otras regiones como por ejemplo Castilla la Vieja son casi desconocidos. Se había llegado a creer que esta región seca, que ha engendrado a España sobre su meseta, carecía de humanidad y de vida. Era natural que una región tan rica en voluntad, que ha creado mundos, no podía carecer de esta savia profundamente humana que se representa en cantos y danzas.

Las danzas que ejecuta el grupo castellano son la más pura y clara expresión de esta vitalidad y esta fuerza que anima Castilla, expresión de ese carácter austero y sobrio de los hombres de la España Central.

Danzas hechas principalmente para hombres y que ganan su gracia por su severidad. Estas danzas segovianas llamadas de “palo corto” podrían llamarse “de palo seco.”

El origen de estos bailes anda perdido en la Edad Media y tienen sin duda un origen guerrero que poco a poco ha venido a ser divertimento y fiesta sin perder su acomotividad [*sic*, por acometividad].

El baile de las cintas, que consiste en tejer y destejer estas alrededor de un mástil no tiene carácter belicoso y su cadencia un poco monótona es profundamente típica y castellana.

La “entradilla” es una danza individual, una danza de honor, un homenaje [*sic*] que se baila tanto a las imágenes religiosas como a cualquier personalidad que llega al pueblo. [...]

Agapito Marazuela, Director de este grupo de bailarines, que ha recogido personalmente en las provincias de Segovia, Ávila y Valladolid las más viejas canciones populares castellanas, las cantará guardando el estilo más puro y más típico.⁷² Se acompañará de instrumentos primitivos como las tejoletas, precursoras de las castañuelas, la zambomba con la cual se cantan villancicos, el almirez, cacharro de cocina que ha servido durante siglos para acompañar las melodías y los bailes[,] y con la dulzaina, instrumento que ha sido introducido en España por los semitas en el siglo VII antes de JesuCristo [*sic*] y que sirve principalmente para acompañar los cantos de boda, rondas de trabajo, dianas, bailes de rueda, ritmo que con el del tamborín constituyen la nota de las fiestas castellanas.

72 The program, printed in French, details that the musical performances by Marazuela would take place three times per week.

Los bailarines de Segovia que bailan en el Pabellón español son todos campesinos de Castilla la Vieja.⁷³

This long text, with probable contributions by Marazuela who supplied the necessary technical details, offers an essential key in the very last sentence: the fact that the dancers were true peasants meant that the public was not in the presence of a mere artistic or professional performance, but rather a series of dances transported from a Spanish town square. The rural scenes and the objects on show in the popular section and the costumes on the dummies were brought to life on the stage through dance and live music. Just as had been conveyed in the March report, the Spanish character “throbbled” in them.

The piece quoted, long and written in Spanish but full of Gallisms, coincides almost exactly with the printed program handed out each night to the public. We cannot but notice that the respect shown, at least officially, by the chancellor of the Complutense University towards the popular dances and folklore contrasts starkly with the reserve of Ángel Ossorio for whom, as we have already seen, offering dances with a war being waged was inconvenient to say the least, and risked once more the insulting label of “España de pandereta” (the uncultured Spain).

Not only the dancers’ performances just before or after the screening of war documentaries and other current news items, but also the speech given by José Gaos in addition to the program texts, were the key to the new meaning acquired by the Castilian dances -considered austere, staid and befitting of men- within the context of the Civil War, a war being waged for freedom. As seen above, the style of the militiaman-dancers was totally genuine in the case of the Segovian troupe and also of the members of the Basque troupe who belonged to the Pyrenean-Basque batallion who, because they were on the war front in addition to other reasons, did not dance at the exhibition.

73 Without signature [attributed to José Gaos], “Fiesta en el Pabellón de España para la presentación del grupo castellano,” Paris, August 23, 1937, file 2760, 19 (4 pp. typewritten), PS-Madrid, AGGC. On the first page, following the detailed cinema and dance program, the source explains that: “A continuación damos el texto que antes de su actuación se leyó, y que en su mayor parte reproducido, se reparte todas las noches entre los espectadores.”

The idea became crucial in the summer of 1937, when everything pointed to the fact that the non-intervention pact would lead to a lack of support for the Spanish Republic on the part of the United Kingdom and France. The international community appeared to be blind to the support that the Axis Powers were giving to the nationalist rebels, an example of which was the savage bombardment by the German airforce of Guernica on April 26, 1937, as depicted in Picasso's painting. Luis Araquistáin and subsequently Ángel Ossorio as ambassadors, José Gaos and his collaborators, the many artists and staff involved in the work, and the team in general, did all they could to show on the exhibition's international stage that Spain was going through hard times and that democratic countries should commit to helping the legitimate Republic.

In this sense, the Soviet filmmaker Vsevolod I. Pudovkin's film montage theory, applied by Josep Renau to the pavilion panel design, and which was hugely efficient in creating a new meaning through the juxtaposition of archaic and modern, traditional and political depictions,⁷⁴ was equally applicable to the dynamic performances held in the courtyard. Here, the public attended without interludes films about the Spanish war and performances by the Segovian dancers, undoubtedly resulting in an interesting semantic shift, reinforced by the alternance of cinema and dance repeated throughout the session.

In fact, it is significant that in a book on foreign and colonial pavilions at the exhibition, the French writer Paul Dupays should refer to the archaic and warlike aspect of these dances:

J'assiste un soir à un spectacle attrayant: quatorze danseurs de Ségovie se font applaudir pour la première fois à Paris dans un costume moyen-âgeux, la culotte collante, la chemise blanche entr'ouverte, la veste étroite et une écharpe rouge ceignant la taille. Chacune de leurs danses revêt un caractère austère et semble présenter un spectacle guerrier. On entend des chanteurs castillans; on voit des danseurs espagnols avec guitaristes; des actualités cinématographiques espagnoles sont projetées au cours de la soirée.⁷⁵

74 Mendelson, *Documentar España*, 207–209; Puyal, “Películas junto a pinturas,” 3.

75 Paul Dupays, “L'Espagne,” in *Voyages autour du monde: Pavillons étrangers et pavillons coloniaux à l'Exposition de 1937* (Paris: Henri Didier, 1938), 61. Martín quoted part of the paragraph in Spanish at the time, and incorrectly substituted “chacune de leurs danses” for “cada uno de estos bailarines.” Martín Martín, *El pabellón*, 201–202.

The feeling that this was a somewhat “warlike spectacle” (“spectacle guerrier”) – the inspiration for the header of this chapter – was portrayed by the program, but also motivated by the performance of some of the men, who used poles – the use of poles or swords in dances has often been related to the use of weapons – and undoubtedly by the somewhat rugged way of dancing of the Castilian peasants who had come from a nation at war and whose starkness and physical strength stood out. Moreover, Dupays reflected the Medieval archaism implied in the speech – “el origen de estos bailes anda perdido en la Edad Media” – and conveyed it to the costumes.

The final few paragraphs of Gaos’ speech, which do not appear in the written program, offer us the final clues to the consideration of dance as an exceptional way for a people to express itself, something which in the context of 1937 takes on a direct political meaning:

Nada es más universal que la danza, nada es comprendido por todos como esta expresión rudimentaria o sabia de los deseos humanos.

No existen más que dos categorías o géneros de danza. Las danzas al aire libre y las que se efectúan en un local cerrado. Las primeras se dan, naturalmente, cuando las condiciones atmosféricas las permiten. Los 20 grados son excelentes para su nacimiento. El baile al aire libre es una expresión de la alegría, cuando se le encierra, enferma y puede degenerar en epidemia. Su solo medicamento es ir a bañarse de vez en cuando en el folklore. El baile es una expresión pura del pueblo y si saben leer en los gestos, encontrarán aquí esta noche, la entereza, la inflexibilidad y quizás la monotonía, pero siempre la grandeza de Castilla y su dura alegría.

Al fascismo le gusta[n] más los desfiles que las danzas y nos obliga a seguirle en sus gustos para poder vencerlo. Esperemos que estos campesinos de Segovia podrán pronto de nuevo bailar tranquilamente en sus eras.

Los instrumentos de los cuales se servirá Agapito Marazuela son tan primitivos, tan ingenuos y por lo tanto tan infantiles y universales que simbolizan bastante bien los que nosotros esperamos del mundo, es decir, que los cacharros de cocina vengan a ser, para todos, instrumentos de música.⁷⁶

It goes without saying that the underlying message behind the speech was pacifist: fighting was considered transient but necessary in order

76 “Notice sur les Danseurs de Ségovie et les Chants Populaires de Castille,” file 2760, 19, typewritten, pp. 3, 4, PS-Madrid, AGGC.

not to succumb to fascism, and traditions were given an air of innocence – even childishness – recalling gentle activities using kitchen utensils in times of peace, a peace yearned for as soon as is possible. Having said this, it is possible to perceive a definite “war culture” in the pavilion’s activities.

Finally, the desire to differentiate oneself from the enemy, highlighted in the reference to the fascist predilection for parades, prompts us to consider a question of gender that is crucial here. Italian fascism, national socialism and Spanish falangism primarily assigned traditional dancing on a massive scale to women, whereas young men paraded and undertook paramilitary activities. For this reason, the Segovian troupe, made up of middle-aged men, can for example be likened to past manifestations of Basque nationalism,⁷⁷ although clearly differentiated from the images of women and youths in fascist style poses.

The Stay of the Segovian Troupe. Sessions Shared with La Joselito. Tribute to Lorca and Two Concerts

Following this ceremonial presentation, and in line with the political and cultural propaganda strategy at the Pavilion, the Segovian dancers offered the most regular presence, if that is the right expression to use, for the performances held in the courtyard. Marazuela made it known at the time to Fernando Martín that the troupe had been in Paris for the 51 days the exhibition lasted, with two daily performances where he himself “explicaba las características del folclore castellano con canciones [...] así como las piezas más relevantes de las danzas de Castilla: Entradilla, Rondas, Enramadas, cantos de Arada, De oficio, etc.”⁷⁸ Considering that the Castilian troupe did not arrive in Paris before August 9th, those 51 días would take us up to the end of September. We calculate that the payments received by Marazuela’s troupe

77 See Karlos Sánchez Ekiza, “«Antes que los razonamientos llegaran al corazón los sonidos»: el folclore como medio de propaganda del primer nacionalismo vasco (1895–1939),” in *Discursos y prácticas musicales nacionalistas (1900–1970)*, ed. Pilar Ramos López (Logroño: Universidad de La Rioja, 2012), 175–194.

78 Martín Martín, *El pabellón*, 201. In 1976 Marazuela replied to the questionnaire sent by the author (p. 205).

(12 members at 20 francs per day)⁷⁹ over the course of 50 days would come to a total of approximately 12,000 francs, excluding accommodation and travelling expenses.

A review of the French press has led us to discover a distinct intensity in the number of announcements covering the period from August 20 – 30. The first article, published in *Ce soir* on August 20, includes one of the few photographs left that offer graphic evidence of the Segovian troupe on the stage of the pavilion,⁸⁰ whereas the report published in *Le Populaire* on August 21, and other subsequent ones, confirm the combination of dance and cinema during the evening sessions: “Dans la salle de cinéma, chaque soir, danses par des paysans de Ségovie, entre la présentation de chaque film.”⁸¹ *L’Humanité* summarised on August 22 the above-mentioned program,⁸² and the magazine *Regards* printed in September a photograph of the dancers and another of Agapito Marazuela playing the pipe, with a footnote confirming that they were continuing to perform in the pavilion several times per week.⁸³ On September 1 and 2, two evening sessions with the Castilian dancers were also announced, at 21:35 and 22:15.⁸⁴ Later, the Paris newspapers mentioned the participation of the Segovian troupe in other socialist *fêtes populaires* that were held outside the exhibition venue throughout the month of September.⁸⁵

A short audiovisual recording has also been preserved, taken from a Metro Goldwyn Mayer report on the Paris International Exhibition. This black and white documentary is 16 minutes long with English text, and

79 Gaos to Ossorio, no dated, file 54/11097, exp. 4491, Asuntos Exteriores 10 [96], AGA.

80 “Au pavillon espagnol de l’Exposition: les danseurs de Ségovie et les chants populaires de Castille,” *Ce soir*, August 20, 1937, 6. It is strange that no pictures have been kept of the Segovian dancers at the Civil War Archive.

81 “À l’Exposition. Au Pavillon de l’Espagne,” *Le Populaire*, August 21, 1937, 5. Similar information appears in adverts in *L’Humanité*, August 24, 1937, 7, and *Ce soir*, August 24, 1937, 6.

82 “Au pavillon de l’Espagne: les danseurs de Ségovie et les chants populaires de Castille,” *L’Humanité*, August 22, 1937, 7.

83 “Spectacles,” *Regards*, September 2, 1937, 18.

84 “À l’Exposition. Aujourd’hui,” *Ce soir*, September 1, 1937, 5, and September 2, 1937, 5.

85 *L’Humanité*, September 2, 4 and 7, 1937; *Le Populaire*, September 21, 22, 23, 25, 26 and 27, 1937, in this case on the *Fête du Populaire* organized on the 26th by the Parti Socialiste, SFIO, in the Bois de Boulogne.



- Claire Trévor

SPECTACLES

LES FILMS

DÉJUNER GRATIS

Le débat est d'une fantaisie comique, d'un charme, d'une liberté qui se rencontrent trop rarement à l'écran. Accompagné d'un valet de comédie, un militaire en chapeau tyrolien chasse le grand fauve du haut de son Wagon Sabas. Il rencontre un garçonne alourdi, qui boit du cidre de cactus et se met à la porte du train spécial où il oublie son livre apprivoisé, alors que le maître de classe a retrouvé avec ses esprits la proverbiale mauvaise humeur. Le garçonne va désagréger, se fait prendre pour un gangster et doit se venger avec une charge de mine. Il est suivi de quelques d'émigrants pour récolter des pièces de cent sous.

Tous ces épisodes sont traités avec un grand bonheur et une incontestable grâce. Cette désinvolture comicalité est un peu l'illure de certains films de René Clair, ou encore ibien que nous soyons ici dans le domaine de la comédie et non dans celui du comique, et à un niveau qui ne permet pas la comparaison). Le ton des premiers Charlot et des bandes comiques américaines de la grande période de l'immédiate après-guerre.

Après ce début très brillant — et qui est dans les meilleures traditions nationales américaines, alors que la sophistication est à Hollywood un article d'importation — le film languit un peu. La logique reprend ses droits, le rythme se raréfie, les incidents deviennent plus prévisibles. Mais toujours l'œuvre demeure jeune et charmante. Le film, mis en scène par Maurice Saint-Clair, est servi par la grâce et la beauté de Huguette Hanlon, qui est une actrice de premier ordre. Il ne faut pas à être impressionné par Jack Haley, bon acteur, qui est tiré parti de son faciès d'ahuri, mais qui est dans trop âgé pour prétendre jouer les jeunes premiers. (Film américain.)



On peut en ce moment voir, et entendre, les « Donceurs de Ségovie » au pavillon espagnol de l'Exposition où ils se produisent plusieurs fois par semaine. Ils nous offrent, dans ce bâtiment à la fois si sobre et si émouvant, la présence orlé, sèche et cependant si prononcée de la Vieille Castille, de son folk-lore. Les danses des bétons, avec le « palo corto » (béton court) et le « palo seco » (béton sec), donnent dans l'origine remonte au Moyen Age et caractérisent leur rythme sec, violent, donne un accent irrésistible, la danse des « cintos » (rubans), particulièrement typique et aux gestes si nobles, voilà quelques-unes des danses à quoi il nous est donné d'assister au pavillon espagnol, en même temps que l'on y entend les vieilles chansons populaires de Castille, recueillies et interprétées par Agapito Marazuela dans le style le plus pur, avec l'accompagnement des instruments primitifs, tels que le « tejeleta », le « zambombas », « falsetras », le « dulzaine ».

MADEMOISELLE MA MÈRE

Un vaudeville, un très gros vaudeville. Un vaudeville sur le coustage parce que c'est un vaudeville français. En Amérique, les vaudevilles portent, non sur le coustage, mais sur le mariage, le riche mariage. Et cette tendance littéraire est assidue et profonde puisqu'il y a cinquante ans déjà qu'elle a tiré l'attention d'un philosophe. On a été bon d'insister dans le post-scriptum de coustage le piment de l'écrite. On a fabriqué un couple pour le Palais-Royal. Et le sujet ravira les psychanalystes qui ne manquent jamais de s'ébahir quand ils retrouvent, l'un après l'autre, dans les principaux vaudevilles parisiens, les grands thèmes du freudisme. Mais n'est-ce pas plutôt le critique qui devrait s'amuser de retrouver dans le vaudeville la recte, post-être boumoum de la psychanalyse. Nietzsche prenait Mme Gyp pour un grand certain psychanalyste. Il aurait pas peur pour des pénétrer les vaudevilles parisiens des courtois de 1800 ? C'est dit et on a fait avec ce mauvais vaudeville un film qui n'est pas bon. Allons, qui fait excellent dans Fernand Mimosa, rondelle affreusement. Le charme de Danièle Darrieux est sans doute dans la pointe d'ail de son large accent bordelais. Pierre Brasseur est meilleur dans les personnages autoritaires que dans les rôles de nonille qu'on a coutume de lui confier. (Film français.)

LA DAME DE PIQUE

Le beau drame navrant que constitue la nouvelle de Pouchkine a déjà tenu plus d'un anier en scène, au temps du grand Le film de l'heure d'après Peter Ousp, tourné en France, s'inspire dans une assez large mesure, comme productions expressives, et des films romantiques produits au lendemain de l'Armistice, par des Russes blancs, à l'Albatros-Film, avec l'acteur Mosjoukine. *La Dame de Pique*, où on se retrouve ni l'épique de Pouchkine, ni le souffle du célèbre opéra est une œuvre soigneusement montée, mais toute en effets, en trucs, et à proprement parler assez creux. Pour cette caricature de grand film, on a eu soin d'engager des initiations de grands acteurs : on devait conspirer d'oprette qui sait être Pierre Blanchar, l'ingénieur, le noble et un illustre Ozerov. Et si l'illustre lieutenant Marguerite Moreno et un bouffon vertueux, tout ce qui se dit plus le nom. L'œuvre est, en définitive, assez loin du pieux. Elle resté cependant très l'algue du meilleur, ou même du bon (film français).

L'HOMME QUI SE RETROUVE

Un chirurgien est assés aviateur. A la suite d'un malentendu, il se brouille avec son père, devient vagabond, et finit par réussir à découvrir une île de médecins réunis dans une grande compagnie aérienne. A l'occasion d'une grande catastrophe de chemin de fer il se retrouve à traverser à et redécouvre chirurgien selon le vœu le plus cher de son père. Un film de série, correctement fait, et qu'on oublie sitôt après l'avoir vu. (Film américain.)

18

FIGURE 3: Agapito Marazuela and his group in *Regards*, September 2, 1937, 18.



FIGURE 4: The Segovia dancers in *Ce Soir*, August 20, 1937, 6.

devotes 52 seconds to the Spanish pavilion, offering external views and a Segovian dance using poles on the courtyard stage, with the spectators sat around tables where Spanish products are being served.⁸⁶

86 *L'Exposition Internationale. Paris-1937*, documentary in black and white, in English. File and picture in Alfonso del Amo, with the collaboration of M.^a Luisa Ibáñez, *Catálogo general del cine de la Guerra Civil* (Madrid: Cátedra-Filmoteca Española, 1996), 434. There is a copy of this short recording in the Filmoteca Española, Madrid.

From August 23, possibly after finding out that the Basques were not going to travel to Paris, the Castilian troupe performances were complemented by other flamenco ones, by La Joselito and La Rocío. For this reason, a large number of the above-mentioned reports name not only our familiar Segovian dancers, but also the flamenco sung by La Rocío and danced by La Joselito and “their guitarists”. All of them performed together in the Spanish pavilion on at least seven days: August 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29 and 30. None of the reports mentions the repertoire nor the times of the shows, they only confirm the cost of the tickets – five francs, increasing the donation of one franc that appears in Joan Miró’s famous poster with the slogan: “Aidez l’Espagne”–.

On August 30, remarks by Champel appeared in *Paris-soir* about the performances of the Basque-French troupe in the Regional Center, which he used to stress the severity of the combat that was taking place in the north of Spain, and also about the performances in the Spanish pavilion, namely the troupe coordinated by Marazuela with the dancing of La Joselito. Champel wrote:

L’exhibition au pavillon espagnol, des danseurs de Ségovie, n’est pas d’un moindre intérêt. Vrai folklore, farouchement original et assez peu connu, bien que présentant certains points de comparaison avec le précédent (je n’en veux pour preuve que ces “ danses du bâton ”, qui ne sont pas spéciales à la Castille mais dont l’authenticité et l’humanité sont également émouvantes). Pour ma part, ce que je préfère de nos sympathiques ségoviens, c’est leur danse “ de ruban ”, qui forme une sorte d’élégie rythmique de la plus pure poésie.

Et puis, tout cela nous a valu de revoir Joselito, gloire de la flamenca. De toutes les danseuses d’Espagne, Joselito est sans doute restée la plus proche de son sol natal. Rien, absolument rien, n’est venu s’ajouter à la sève qui l’anime. D’autres ont plus de douceur, plus de charme ou plus d’humeur, si l’on veut. Mais à elle seule, dans un genre qu’elle possède à fond, elle semble avoir plus de fougue que toutes ses sœurs réunies.⁸⁷

By a quirk of fate, and in spite of Ossorio’s misgivings about traditional dance in general and flamenco in particular, La Joselito and his team ended up performing in the Spanish pavilion, at least for a week. Just as with the Cobla Barcelona, the decision was almost certainly influenced by the fact that the flamenco artists were already in Paris. None of the

87 Maurice-J. Champel, “Terpsichore à l’honneur. Danses du folklore et de saison à l’Exposition,” *Paris-soir*, August 30, 1937, 6.

documents consulted mentions the contracting of La Joselito nor of any payments made, although their performances are confirmed not only by the press at the time but also by the summary subsequently published in Labbé's *Rapport Général*.⁸⁸

Carmen Gómez “La Joselito” (1906–1998) had been born in Cartagena and took pride in having learned under La Macarrona in Seville and Antonio de Bilbao in Barcelona. At 18, she married Juan Relámpago, who was somewhat older than her and who became her accompanying guitarist. Some years before, with her performance in *La ilustre fregona* by Raoul Laparra, and also in the choreographed version of *El amor brujo* and in *Les Ballets Espagnols* by Antonia Mercé La Argentina, La Joselito had earned a certain prestige in Paris and other French cities.⁸⁹ Additionally, she had danced regularly in socialist and Spanish Republic supporting parties, which undoubtedly influenced in her being booked.⁹⁰

Later, La Joselito once again offered her “Andalusian dances” in the *Hommage à Federico García Lorca, poète fusilé à Grenade*, that – having abandoned the idea of staging *Fuenteovejuna*, first with Erwin Piscator and then with La Barraca directed by Miguel Hernández⁹¹ – the Spanish pavilion organized on September 13 in the Salle d'Iéna. According to the handbill, the program began with two dances from Segovia, songs from Castile, a guitar concert by Agapito Marazuela, followed by two romances (in Spanish and in French), by Germana Montero, the recital of poems –*Le crime eut lieu à Grenade* (*El crimen fue en Granada*, by Antonio Machado) and *Llanto por Ignacio Sánchez Mejías*, both by Jean-Louis Barrault–, four of Lorca's songs, sung by Germaine Montero (*Los cuatro muleros*, *El Café de Chinitas*, *La canción de Belisa* and *Peribáñez*), Andalusian dances by La Joselito and a scene from the drama *Así que pasen cinco años*, with the participation of Germana Montero

88 Labbé, “Vie de la Section,” *Rapport Général*, vol. IX, 174.

89 More details about her professional career in Annie Cathelin, *La Joselito à l'Âge d'or du flamenco. Ethnologie d'une passion* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2013).

90 The subsequent “realignment through necessity” of this female flamenco dancer is dealt with in Atenea Fernández Higuero, “La escena española en el París ocupado (1940–1944): acomodamientos y resiliencias,” in *Arts & Frontières. Espagne & France. XXe siècle*, eds. Antonia Mora Luna, Pedro Ordóñez Eslava and François Soulages (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2016), 171–199.

91 The projects for taking this emblematic theatre group to Paris have been studied by Peral Vega, *Retablos de agitación*.

and Alberto Barral.⁹² Yet again, the chosen format was that of combined program, on this occasion mixing music, dance, poetry and theater.

So as not to leave the calendar of activities incomplete, it is worth recalling that the Spanish pavilion program ended with two Spanish music concerts, directed by Roger Desormières and Bartolomé Pérez Casas, in the Théâtre des Champs Elysées on September 21 and 22.⁹³ Contrary to what we might think, reception for these concerts was modest: only 392 guests attended the first session and 500 the second,⁹⁴ therefore the takings were clearly insufficient to pay the artists' fees, equipment rental, travelling expenses and advertising, which totalled 104,237.80 francs.⁹⁵

It is reasonable to assume that in addition to cultural and musical motives –the inclusion of representative works by Albéniz, Granados, Chapí, Falla y Turina–, there were also political reasons behind the choice of repertoire and artists: for example, it was not coincidental that Pérez Casas, Esplá or Bacarisse had been members of the National Board

92 The program for this tribute is kept in file 13–25, Archivo de la Fundación Max Aub, Segorbe, Castellón, and has been reproduced by Gérard Malgat, *Max Aub y Francia o la esperanza traicionada* (Sevilla: Renacimiento, 2007), 76. Aub took part in the organization of this event in his capacity as propaganda and cultural attaché at the embassy. Along with José Bergamín, he was joint commissioner at the Spanish pavilion. In the text, Malgat dates the event in honour of Lorca as September 23, and not September 13, which is the day when it was actually held.

93 For an introduction to the programs and the critiques of these concerts see Palacios, “La música en las exposiciones,” 243–244. Esplá, who attended the concerts, sent a letter to Adolfo Salazar quoting comments made by the wife of Bartolomé Pérez Casas. See Consuelo Carredano, “La propaganda republicana en París. Adolfo Salazar, la Guerra Civil y *Les Archives Espagnoles*,” *Cuadernos de Música Iberoamericana* 24 (julio-diciembre 2012): 35–36. According to Martín, Agapito Marazuela also offered a guitar recital in the Sala Pleyel (Martín Martín, *El pabellón*, 203).

94 “Bordereau récapitulatif,” September 21 and 22, 1937, F¹² 12203 – XVIII - Théâtre – Musique Espagnole, Archives nationales de France (Pierrefitte-sur-Seine), Paris.

95 The document “Gastos conciertos,” October 1, 1937, PS-Barcelona 95, AGGC, details the following amounts: 63,278 francs for the orchestra; 26,059.80 for advertising; 3,200 for the hotel and travelling expenses of Pérez Casas and Sanjuán; 1,500 for Desormière; 3,800 for travelling expenses and 18 days' accommodation for Remacha; 2,100 for Radio ‘37’ for the first concert; 1,300 for orchestra equipment rental.

of Music and Lyrical Theater, created by Manuel Azaña in 1931, or that Bacarisse, Rodolfo Halffter and Bautista were members of the Central Council for Music, created in June 1937. As for Antonio José, just like Lorca, he had been murdered without a trial nor the chance to defend himself.

Although his musical program advisers should not be forgotten, it is important to remember that José Gaos came from an artistic and musical family.⁹⁶ As recalled by his daughter, the only music heard in the Gaos family home was classical; Wagner and Debussy were his favorite composers, and during his subsequent exile in Mexico he went regularly to the music season of the symphonic orchestra at the Palace of Fine Arts.⁹⁷ Given his cultural profile, it would be logical to assume that as pavilion commissioner he would be qualified enough to approve the embassy program and the two September concerts while still acknowledging the central role of traditional dance in the pavilion’s cultural and political strategy, as demonstrated in his presentation of the Castilian troupe on August 14.

In any case, with the tribute to Lorca and the two concerts, the literary and modern music artistic aspect was covered, at least symbolically, with the activities organized by the Spanish Republic in Paris, activities that were initially much more ambitious (including theater plays from the Spanish Golden Age which were not finally staged) but which were increasingly undermined by the war.

The difficulties arising from the armed conflict were perceived by those visitors who were sensitive to the Spanish cause, for example, Luc Decaunes, who described the ghost of war as something that pervaded the pavilion more than anything else:

Du patio dont la nudité terrible est dominée seulement par le sauvage “Guer-nica” de Picasso et le portrait du poète assassiné, *Frédérico [sic] García Lorca*, jusqu’aux galeries étroites peuplées de graphiques et de témoignages lourds de

96 His paternal grandfather had been the owner of a music shop in Vigo, and one of his uncles, Andrés Gaos Berea, was a violinist and orchestra conductor; his brother Fernando was a pianist and poet; his youngest sister Lola Gaos was an outstanding actress. See José Luis Abellán, “Los Gaos: una saga familiar eminente,” in *En torno a José Gaos*, ed. Teresa Rodríguez de Lecea (València: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2001), 219–230.

97 See Ángeles Gaos, “A mi padre,” in *En torno a José Gaos*, ed. Teresa Rodríguez de Lecea (València: Institució Alfons el Magnànim, 2001), 38.

sens, c'est la guerre, la guerre, la guerre. Elle est partout présente, ici, comme une épée de Damoclès dégouttante du sang, comme un signe dans le ciel du temps. Elle est au fronton du pavillon où s'inscrit la fière déclaration du président *Azana* [*sic*], elle est plus terriblement concrète dans ces tableaux peints à vif, dans ces scènes taillées à même la chair du peuple martyr.

En vain les serveuses apportent-elles avec le sourire les rafraîchissements traditionnels, en vain les vitrines offrent-elles aux regards de luxueux cahiers d'art; en vain, le pick-up déverse-t-il sur nous les langoureuses mélopées populaires de l'Espagne du sud ou les sauvages sardanes de Catalogne. Ici, l'on ne peut qu'être grave et se taire. On ne peut que regarder de tous ses yeux, ce terrible réquisitoire d'un peuple en face de ses assassins. Un peuple qui se défend les armes à la main et la lumière de l'avenir dans ses yeux.⁹⁸

Conclusions

The Civil War undoubtedly complicated the successful completion of the plans set out by the inter-ministerial commissions in March and June of 1937, so much so that some of the goals set out in the “dynamic section” were practically unfulfilled. According to information found in archive and press sources, we can confirm a total of 16 days of dance performances: July 2 in the Gran Palais; July 26, 27 and 28, August 14, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29 and 30, plus September 1 and 2 in the Spanish pavilion; on September 13 in the Salle d'Iéna. We assume, however, that the sessions with choreographic shows were much more numerous. In order to situate the detailed documentation presented so far within a wider framework, we will offer four final reflections.

Firstly, the presentation of traditional dances both by Spain as well as by western, colonial or exotic countries was always a usual occurrence in universal exhibitions. In fact, a comparison between the musical activities performed in the 1929 and 1937 exhibitions confirms that the courtyard of the 1937 Spanish pavilion hosted the traditional events that in 1929 had been held in the public squares in Barcelona.⁹⁹ It is also necessary to bear in mind that in 1937, the atmosphere of crisis and pre-war tensions –of which the opposing pavilions of Germany and the USSR are

98 Luc Decaunes, “À l'Exposition. Tchécoslovaquie-Angleterre-Japon-Espagne,” *Regards*, August 5, 1937, 17.

99 Palacios, “La música en las exposiciones,” 248.

representative— had increased the nationalistic feelings in many countries, many of which had programmed typical shows.

Secondly, both the objects on show as well as the Spanish musical and choreographed activities were perfectly incorporated into the 1937 Paris showcase thanks to their alignment with specific perceptions of the international exhibition as analysed by Namer,¹⁰⁰ some related to conflict or forming part of a chaotic *bric-à-brac*. For example, the tensions between the regionalism of the *Centre des provinces* and the progressive message that the Front populaire wanted to convey to the *Centre rural*, where Labbé decided to hold the *fêtes populaires*, is comparable to the opposition between conservative regionalism and folklore, understood by left wing ideology as the science of the people and for the people. The exhibition of 1937 also presented a rationalist vision of regionalist architecture, which did not try to imitate but rather to develop its own categories. It is not hard to transfer these blueprints to the Spanish Pavilion, a rationalist building that housed handicrafts and art works, photomontages of Spanish culture and Republican political activities, and in whose courtyard cinema and rural dances could be fused without hiding the propagandistic function of the show. So much so, that Namur considers that the political perceptions of the socialist Léon Blum (before the collapse of the Front populaire in June) were only evident in the *Centre rural*, in the CGT pavilion and in the Spanish pavilion (here, Namer alludes to Picasso's *Guernica*).¹⁰¹

Thirdly and in more general terms, it is worth noting that during the inter-war period, folklore acquired a new importance amongst post-traditional societies, with several revivalist movements, the creation of national or regional ballet companies, as well as actions aimed at consolidating a scientific field interested in bringing together, studying and archiving traditional dances. Here it is important to remember that on the same dates as the international exhibition, two significant events took place: on the one hand, the *Congrès international de folklore*, held on August 23 – 28, directed by Paul Rivet and Georges-Henri Rivière with

100 Gérard Namer, “Les imaginaires dans l'Exposition de 1937,” *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie* LXX (January–June 1981): 35–62.

101 Namer, “Les imaginaires dans l'Exposition,” 59.

the aim of creating a National Museum of Popular Arts and Traditions,¹⁰² and on the other hand, the *Exposition des danses populaires d'Europe* at the headquarters of the Archives Internationales de la Danse, managed by Pierre Tugal. On this occasion, there were two areas strictly parallel to the lines drawn by the international exhibition: one was devoted to “art” and contained miniature dolls, models and popular art objects related to dance; the other was associated with “technique” and included photographs, drawings or paintings, maps showing the dances performed in each country, information on European folklore centers and their publications, and finally dance museography.¹⁰³ A third French body ended up collaborating with the Spanish commissioner after the dismantling of the pavilion, with a collection of regional costumes exhibited in the Musée de l’Homme until the Francoist government demanded their return.

Finally, we wish to underline the existence of internal debates within the Spanish left wing *fretepopulista*, with differences between socialists and communists that were visible, not only in appearance but also in diplomacy –for example, it is significant that Ossorio should insist on the communist minister Jesús Hernández not going to the opening of the pavilion, and the collective concern for not publicising the USSR’s support for the Spanish Republic for reasons of international strategy. Conversely, these debates also affected the ideological culture program, precisely concerning the change in attitudes towards traditional manifestations, which changed from being associated with a conservative regionalism nostalgic about the past to being understood from a communist perspective as a very much alive modern form of art for the working classes. With this in mind, it is interesting to recall José Renau’s criticism of the elitism of the *Misiones pedagógicas* (Educational Missions) because they lacked a greater “disposición a la reciprocidad, es decir, al necesario y vital intercambio con el pueblo.”¹⁰⁴

102 See Catherine Velay Valentin, “Le folklore et l’histoire. Le Congrès international de folklore de 1937,” *Annales Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 54, no. 2 (March–April 1999): 481–506.

103 Les Archives Internationales de la Danse A.I.D., *Exposition des danses populaires d’Europe, 1937. Guide permettant la collaboration à l’Exposition*. 6, Rue Vital, Paris (16^e). See also Sanja Andus L’Hotellier, *Les Archives Internationales de la Danse. Un projet inachevé, 1931–1952* (Coeuvres-et-Valsery: Ressouvenances, 2012).

104 José Renau, cited by Jordana Mendelson, *El Pabellón Español*, 215.

The troupe that danced the most in the pavilion and which had the most influence on the French public, the one coordinated by the communist Agapito Marazuela, satisfied as far as possible all the requirements for representing the Spanish people in Paris 1937. The image of warlike dancers that the twelve Segovians directed by Marazuela presented at that moment was a reflection of the starkness of their movements and an interpretation of the same in terms of archaicness and purity. Marazuela drew on the little that was known about Castilian dances in the neighboring country to make them more open to strategies aimed at giving them a new sense; he played on their status as peasants, their exclusively masculine structure, and the age of the troupe to distance the show from being considered as a performance by a group of professional artists. He incorporated them into a general arrangement that added the impact of their performances to the photomontages seen beforehand by spectators at the pavilion, the hand programs and the proximity of the dancing to the war documentaries projected during the same session. All of this gave the Castilian dancers the strong capacity to arouse with their bodily movements thoughts of an imagined community, that of the Spanish people fighting against fascism, a crucial aspect in the strategy for interpellating democratic countries, as defined by the pavilion commissioner and the government representatives involved in the initiative.

Appendix

From the opening of the Spanish pavilion, that is to say the end of this month (June), and throughout the entire duration of the Exposition, the pavilion courtyard will host a series of choreographed shows, film showings etc., with the following timings:

- 1.° During peak visiting hours: the playing of recorded music and popular Spanish songs.
- 2.° In theory, every Wednesday there will be a private showing to present documentary and current affairs films, which will be shown to the general public the remaining afternoons. These sessions will alternate with performances of dances and regional music.

Of the 40 films or so to be shown are:

- *Reforma agraria*
- *La guerra del campo*
- *La ruta de Don Quijote*

- *Sinfonía Vasca*
- *España 36*
- *Madrid*
- *Escorial*
- *Guadalquivir*
- *Almadrabas*
- *Tribunal de las Aguas*
- *Juan Simón*.

3.º Every two or three weeks there will be performances by the below-mentioned groups. They will perform twice per week and four performances on each occasion. The performances will take place every half hour, in the morning and the afternoon:

Castile group: 14 people; 11 dancers, 2 *dulzaineros* [pipers] and 1 drummer. This group will perform the different arrangements of “Danza de las Espadas”; “Danza de las Cintas” and the “El Castillo” dances. The *dulzainero* Agapito Marazuela will sing old songs and Castilian Spanish romantic songs, accompanied by characteristic instruments such as pottery (*tejoleta* [castanets]), the *almirez* [mortar], and the *zambomba*).

Basque group: composed of a first dance troupe of 50 boys and girls [and] a second group made up of three musicians [,] two singers of folk melodies.

Catalan group: participation by the Orfeón Catalán and the Cobla de Barcelona, etc...

Valencia group: 28 people: 16 dancers, 1 dance leader and 9 musicians. This group will interpret the “U y dotze”, “Albaes”, and other dances.

Aragon group: 15 people: 8 *rondalla* musicians [plucked string ensemble], 2 dance couples and 3 singers of different styles of the Jota.

Asturian group: under formation.

Andalusian group: under formation.

4.º Towards the end of August and the beginning of September, the “LA BARRACA” university theater company will give morning and afternoon performances over two weeks. They will alternate with the following programs:

- 1.º “Fuente Ovejuna,” by Lope de Vega.
- 2.º (a) “Égloga de Plácido y Victoriana,” by Juan de la Encina.
(b) “La cueva de Salamanca” (*entremés* by Cervantes).
(c) “El Gran Teatro del Mundo” or “La vida es sueño” (morality plays by Calderón de la Barca).
- 5.º Twice per month, some writers will read or recite literary texts or poems. We still cannot give more precise information about this.¹⁰⁵

105 “Programa oficial de actividades enviado por el Comisariado Español al Comisariado General de la Exposición,” no dated (June, 1937), Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris. Original text in Spanish in Alix Trueba, *Pabellón*, 152–153; also in Palacios, “La música en las exposiciones internacionales,” 240–241.