THE TRACE OF THE DEMOCRATIC CREATURE

Art Practice as Transitory Phenomena through Re-enactment

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ABSTRACT

What is the role of art in moments of social transformation? How can the re-enactment of concrete art events from historic turning points can help us to reconceptualise moments of civil instability in the present? How might we understand democratic society as a form of creature, one that grows and requires care, and what kinds of traces does this creature leave behind?

This practice-led research considers three art events linked with recent Spanish history that I revisit through the development of three large-scale art projects presented as case studies. It adresses three art events ran by other artists in the past embarking on intense historical research of the particular episodes in order to offer a reconsideration of its impact, legacy and translation within the present context. Hence, each project also helps to analyse and portraits aspects of the present Spanish socio-political actual realm.

The project speculates on the presented case studies as three exercises of artistic re-enactment; all the specific techniques and supports involved in their creation are selected through a work of media-archaeology that conceptually links them with the specific past art events that are being artistically revisited.

The title of this research (The Trace of the Democratic Creature) is informed by the ideas of the paediatrician and relational psychoanalyst D.W Winnicott who at some point compares the child with society and Maturity with Democracy. The research case studies rescue past art events coming from social paradigm shifts as the formation of new states and early democracies in order to see if they can affect our better understanding of the power control structures in the now. In this sense, it looks at our common wealth realities as creatures in our custody needing constant care in a context with constant threats.

In the subtitle of this research (Art Practice as Transitory Phenomena through Re-enactment) Art initiatives are presented as hypothetic transitory phenomena in the framework of relational psychoanalysis. Inspired by the idees of Winnicott's transitional object, relational psychoanalysis puts special attention on the framing of the psychoanalitical setting, understunding that some objects can give 'support' to society in certain moments of its developmental process. In this sense, this project also reflects on the role of art institutions as platforms that must take care of the setting in which art projects dealing wiht the past take place in order to be effective.

KEYWORDS

Artistic re-enactments

Political Transitions

Archival Culture

Collective unconscious

Media-Archeology

Historical Pictoric Friezes

Candidate's declaration that the work presented is the own

This thesis represents partial submission for the degree of Master of Philosophy at the Royal College of Art. I confirm that the work presented here is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis. During the period of registered study in which this thesis was prepared the author has not been registered for any other academic award or qualification. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.

Signed on the 14th of September 2022

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THE TRACE OF THE DEMOCRATIC CREATURE

Art Practice as Transitory Phenomena through Re-enactment

INTRODUCTION

What is the role of art in moments of social transformation? How can the re-enactment of concrete art events from historic turning points help us to re-conceptualise moments of civil instability in the present? How might we understand democratic society as a form of creature, one that grows and requires care, and what kinds of traces does this creature leave behind?

This practice-led research considers three significant art events linked with recent Spanish history that I revisit through the development of three large-scale/ long-term art projects that are presented here as case studies. I started the first project in 2017 and I have ended the third one in 2022. In developing these works, I embark on intense historical research of the particular historic art event they re-visit, in order to offer a reconsideration of its impact, legacy and translation within the present context. This submission is made up of a thesis and a series of exhibitions that formed the basis for this research. Within the thesis, each chapter has a different function and therefore uses a different layout to represent this.

Mourning for the Black Spain, ***Rehearsal for Deep Song*** and ***Children's Game***, are the three projects at the core of this research-by-practice based on contemporary strategies of artistic re-enactment. Artistic re-enactments promote the repetition of events, not for the mere sake of commemoration, like in pop-cultural re-enactments of historic battles, for example, but due to their relevance in today's immediate context.[1] Therefore, in artistic re-enactments such as Jeremy Deller's 'The Battle of Orgreave' in 2001 and Rod Dickinson´s 'The Milgram Re-enactment' in 2002, the past is not an affirmative confirmation of a history, but a questioning of the past in the present: it is about the relevance of what happened in the past for the here and now.

Within the contemporary art field one can encounter not only artistic re-enactments of historical events, but also artworks reactivated in art institutions by the hand of curators, or even artists re-enacting their own works or actions. This particular research is based on three exercises of artistic re-enactment of art events conceived by other artists in the past; I am reflecting on them within the three chapters and the epilogue within this thesis:

Chapter One presents the ***Mourning for the Black Spain*** project which brings to the present the historic journey that the Spanish painter Darío de Regoyos made along with the Belgian poet Emile Verhaeren in 1888, first by different towns of the Spanish Cantabrian coast and then towards the country's central core. The book *'La España Negra'* (The Black Spain), published in 1898, contains a chronicle of their trip written by the Belgian poet and engravings by the Spanish painter and is considered to be the founding of a phenomenon that reflects the influence of European symbolism[2]. It is necessary to take into account that it was the ideal moment to put an aesthetic to the generalised pessimism that was being instilled in Spanish society at the end of the nineteenth century, with the loss of its last colonies. At this time Belgium was also seeking to redefine its own identity, as a country of very recent formation. In this sense, the two friends would see the Belgian Spanish colonial domination as an antecedent of their intentions of independence from the Dutch, but also like the painful origin of one of its differential features against 'protestant' neighbouring countries like Holland or France: the irrational devotion linked to the Catholic culture the Spanish brought to Belgium, seen with a mixture of fascination and rejection.

At the heart of this chapter is a large-scale installation that was presented at La Casa Encendida Art Centre in Madrid in 2018. The work was also formalised in a photobook, edited by The Emile Verhaeren Museum, Belgium, in 2021. The exhibition presented a record of my own journey through Northern Spain, retracing the steps of Regoyos and Verhaeren. The project is formally presented in three elements that function as a chronotope.[3] The resulting Super-8 film was projected onto zinc etching plates that created a play with light, shadow and mirroring. Upon

entering the space, due to the shining surface of the etching plates, the projected moving images reflected onto the bodies of the viewers. The zinc etching plates provoke a mirror effect in which the moving images and the paintings fall on the spectators in an attempt to formally immerse them into the journey as well. This partial mirroring, or this process of becoming-image, of seeing history reflected into and onto the present, is significant for establishing my analysis of the role of re-enactment within contemporary art. On the face of the etching plates were seven depictions, oil paintings directly onto the zinc, derived from images found in different local archives of each enclave that I visited that document the same sites during the times of Spanish civil war and dictatorship. Alongside these seven paintings, are seven photo-etching matrices featuring the negative image of each painting.

The timing of this project was significant, in that 2018 was the peak of the recent Spanish constitutional crisis that was triggered by the Catalan longing for independence. In this sense, one of the project's main goals was to take part in and reflect upon the process of social mourning that can occur when groups become separated from one another.

Chapter Two reports on the project ***Rehearsal for Deep Song*** and it recreates Martha Graham's choreographic piece Deep Song, the last dance that Graham, as a mother of Modern Dance, performed alone in 1937 before starting larger-scale productions with the dancers she trained at her school. This dance was Graham's response to The Spanish Civil War and the startling pictures that reached the US through different media. She literally conceived its choreography through performing a sequence of still images that documented the pain suffered by the civilians in The Spanish Civil War. Susan Sontag, in her essay 'Regarding the Pain of Others' (2003), explains how the Spanish Civil war was the first to be covered in a modern sense by bodies of professional photographers along the lines of military pronouncements[4]. This provided serials of pictures of the disaster shot from a very short distance. Also, the pictures started to travel faster than ever before meaning that the violence on the civilian population could be communicated both immediately and yet was perceived from long distances from where the viewer, likewise Graham from New York, could not take any part in the conflict.

My project and recreation of Graham's work was developed with the help of The Leonardo Grant for Researchers and Cultural Creators of the BBVA Foundation. Within *Rehearsal for Deep Song*, I focus on the analytical study, through pictorial mimesis, of the sequence of movements proposed by Graham in her dance in order to deal with the Spanish conflict which is also the subject of this almost five-minute choreographic piece. It is likely that Graham, who paid special attention to his readings when composing her pieces, might have entitled her dance it in reference to Federico García Lorca's poem *'Poema del Cante Jondo'* published in Madrid in 1931 and translated into English as *Poem of Deep Song*. Formally, I am working with oil paint on long strips of canvas designed and prepared to represent sequences of movement in an exercise close to stop-motion; a creative process based on an expanded concept of the idea of historical frieze.

Within the amalgam of frames of atrocities daily frozen in our minds today, what unites dance and painting (think, for example, of the 'Gaddafi' series of paintings made by Wilhelm Sasnal in 2011) is the way they propose to internalise them. The aim of this project is to learn other ways to cope with the images of violence that news and social media are able to expose us today, but also to contribute to the renewal of the genre of historical painting through a working methodology that emphasises the power of recreation (re-enactment) of the pictorial medium rather than restricting it to the mere realm of representation.

Chapter three presents the project ***Children's Game*** which offers a reconceptualization of the exhibition 'Joan Miró. Barcelona 1968-69'; the first retrospective of the Catalan abstract painter in Spain at the end of the country's dictatorship. The project was presented in 2020 at the very same exhibition space where Miro's retrospective was opened in 1968; an empty medieval church that Barcelona's city council decided to restore and use as the first public contemporary

art exhibition space of that time in the city. Nowadays, the program of *La Capella* (The Chapel in Catalan) is built up through an annual open call for site-specific projects.

Through researching the archives in Barcelona and through interviews conducted with Mrs. Rosa Mº Subirana (Miro's Show Coordinator), I was able to reconstruct the works that were presented by Miro in 1968. There was no map or guide of the exhibition, so I had to reconstruct where each artwork was situated within the space. In my exhibition, I presented a series of paintings, photos, videos and ceramics. While the content differed from Miro's work, the scale and positioning of each work was measured to match Miro's, presented in the very same church corners as his works in 1968. Through this series of works, I address the Spanish socio-political turmoil of the late 1960s through the figure of the popular painter. With this work, I conceptually speculate about Miró describing him as a 'transitional object' - an artistic bridge between Franco's dictatorship and modern democracy. 'Transitional object' was a term used in 1951 by the English paediatrician and relational psychoanalyst, D. W. Winnicott, to describe comforting objects – such as teddy bears, blankets or dolls – that take the place of the mother-and-child bond in infant development. Miró did not attend the opening (he avoided coincidence with the dictatorial reps), yet a series of news clippings note that he appeared a few days later during a visit of three thousand children to the exhibition, an event run in collaboration with an organised group of primary schools.

Miró's exhibition at La Capella ended on 19 January 1969. The next day in Madrid, the death of antifascist law student Enrique Ruano sparked student and worker agitation, and served as an excuse for the Franco regime to declare a three months' state of emergency shortly after. It was the last nationally declared state of emergency in Spain until the one imposed in 2020 because of the pandemic, while I was developing this project. I was interested in how Miró's retrospective was an event on the cusp of a three-month declared state of emergency that supposed the suspension of civic norms and press freedoms. The declaration of a state of emergency reflects the state immaturity in order to solve a conflict by means of dialogue. In 2019, Spanish constitutional crisis negotiations reached a state of paralysis that seemingly we were not able to solve; then, the effects of the pandemic started to become evident in conjunction with the paradigm shift it implied.

Formally, I appropriated articles that appeared in national newspapers during the state of emergency in 1969 – *faits divers* often related to infancy, such as an article about a baby hippopotamus named Abrazos (Hugs). Each of my videos, photos and paintings adopted the title and large format of one Miró's La Capella paintings and were accompanied by a reproduction of the original registrar's file documenting the corresponding original work by Miro. One of the two side chapels within the church exhibition space displayed ten small ceramic pieces representing children's toys and other objects gathered in Winnicott's last book Playing and Reality (1971), referring to the clay figures exhibited by Miró in the very same space. Each ceramic piece is accompanied with a caption including an excerpt from the children's descriptions of their toys and other objects included in Winnicott's book.

The title of the project is a reference to the ballet Jeux d'Enfants by the Ballets Russe de Monte-Carlo, with music composed by Georges Bizet and costumes by Miró, performed at the Liceu Barcelona Opera Palace in 1933, during the republican times before the Civil War broke out. The project was presented in 2020 at La Capella together with a book that offered a compilation of the archival material.

As outlined above, these three projects are understood as case studies of my research by practice and I dedicate a chapter of my writing component to each of them. In doing so, I also write about the particular local context in which each project has evolved and been presented, interlacing recent collective memory with rescued episodes from my own personal history.

The three projects/case studies have in common that all of them imply deep focused historical research through archives of different natures (from self-led collectives through to more official municipal collections), original publications and oral testimonies that provide new information

about the past art event involved in each creative process. At the same time, each project analyses and portrays aspects of the present Spanish socio-political realm. Formally, all of them involve painting, video installation and the edition of a book with archival material. All the specific techniques and supports involved in their creation are selected through a work of media-archaeology that conceptually links them with the specific past art events that are being artistically revisited.

The title of this research, *The Trace of the Democratic Creature*, is also informed by the ideas of the paediatrician and relational psychoanalysis D. W Winnicott who compares the child with society and Maturity with Democracy[5].The research case studies rescue past art events that emerged from social paradigm shifts at the formation of new states and early democracies in order to see if they can better our understanding of the effect of structures of power and control in the present. In this sense, it looks at our commonwealth realities as creatures in our custody; reviewing certain early democracies or incompletely resolved utopias and their primary goals, like analysing children, can actually redirect us while facing vicious systemic mechanisms with all their subsequent disorders, in order to mitigate against either personal or collective, breakdown.

The movement to keep interlacing isolated lost images proposes a work that is a dimension of the psychoanalytical process in which change can enmesh hatching a sequence of_re-enactments that rearrange the present to be able to evolve in it. In the subtitle of this research (Art Practice as Transitory Phenomena through Re-enactment) art initiatives are presented as hypothetic *transitory phenomena* in the framework of relational psychoanalysis[6]; meaning as a 'support' to society in certain moments of its developmental process.

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MOURNING FOR THE BLACK SPAIN

Chapter I: On ***Black Spain***, Dario de Regoyos & Emile Verhaeren, Barcelona, 1898

Super-8 film transferred to video, group of 7 oil paintings and 7 photo- etchings, all on zinc plates of 40 x 58 x 0,01cm)/ book (edition of 400)

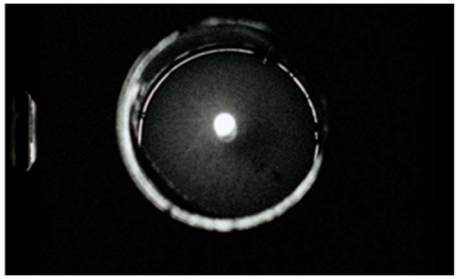
Project presented at La Casa Encendida Art Centre, Madrid (February 2019) [fig.5] & The Emile Verhaeren Museum, St. Amands, Belgium (September 2021).

Blurred Rehearsals

When I was thirteen, I developed a phobia about being underwater without goggles. I had been into synchronised swimming since I was six, training every day from just after school until late evening except the weekends without planned public exhibitions. At that time, I had competed for a total of four National Championships as part of a team, with their respective previous local Catalan ones, and was about to do my fifth. Each annual National competition would take place in June and include a trip to a chosen swimming-pool in a different Spanish *'Comunidad autonoma'*[1], out of the seventeen in the list. I used to understand these trips as a kind of award from The Swimming Federation in return for our work during the year, and somehow, this is how I managed to discover the rest of the peninsula. At the end of each contest, my parents, who always would come to encourage us at the final, would drive me back home stopping at all the must-see enclaves, monuments and touristic sites on the map, making it last for about two weeks. It was then when my job was already done and I could relax and enjoy the views in a state of full satisfaction, as we were advancing kilometres along the highway my body would progressively recover.

With these road trips, I got to know places like the medieval walled city of Caceres and

The fragments of text on the right-hand side pages of this chapter complement my narration on the left. These fragments are quotes of existing theory and literature linked with specific terms highlighted in capital letters on the left side that contribute to the theoretical research of this MPhil. The images interspersed are video frames transferred from the Super-8 film outcome from this first chapter and project and of this MPhil. At the end, are images of various archival material collected along the research implicit in this chapter together with a view of the project installation.



In one corner was a sort of ladder leading through the roof; and up this ladder the old gentleman pointed, as he said in a whisper:

`The Observatory. Mr. Mooney is even now watching for the precise time at which we are to come into all the riches of the earth. It will be necessary for he and I, alone in that silent place, to cast your nativity before the hour arrives. Put the day and minute of your birth on this piece of paper, and leave the rest to me´.

`You don't mean to say´, says Tom, doing as he was told and giving him back the paper, `that I'm to wait here long, do you? It's a **precious dismal** place´.

`Hush! ´ says the old gentleman. `It's hallowed ground. Farewell! ´

`Stop a minute´, says Tom. `What a hurry you're in! What's in that large bottle yonder? ´

`It's a child with three heads´, says the old gentleman; `and everything else in proportion´.

`Why don't you throw him away? ´ says Tom. `What do you keep such unpleasant things here for? ´

`Throw him away! ´ cries the old gentleman.

`We use him constantly in astrology. He's a charm´.

(Charles Dickens, *Selected Short Fiction*, New York: Dover Thrift Editions, 2016, p.181.)

fascinating historical pearls like Segovia or Toledo, not to mention the charismatic tiny villages in between like Chinchon or Aranjuez. Toledo, being El Greco's[2] (1541-1614) home town, is where I saw for the first time his one painting installation 'El Entierro del Conde de Orgaz' (The Burial of the Count of Orgaz, 1588)[3] inside an empty little dark chapel with a dramatic single point of light on the work, which makes you look at it from the church bench as if you were at the cinema; I remember remaining there very quietly for a long time until someone, I guess my mother, insisted for me to leave. At some point, we also stopped at the **PRECIOUS DISMAL** Monastery of El Escorial[4], hosting the Spanish Catholic Kings' collective grief from 1584 up to-day. Very close, and using the same granite stones from the 'Sierra de Guadarrama', the Mountain range surrounding Madrid, Francisco Franco (1892-1975), jealous of the kings, also did build by prisoners of war his own grief from 1940 until 1958, calling it 'El Valle de los Caidos'[5], *The Valley of The Fallen* in English. In fact, its construction lasted so long because Franco didn't want to be alone. Instead, he ordered the bodies of 33,833[6] Civil War combatants from all over Spain to be moved there - both supporters of the regime and those who resisted it - until he died, still in power and from illness, in 1975, at the age of eighty-three. Just a year after, the illegal parties and associations became legalised, and two years later, in 1977, the country celebrated its first democratic elections. But the memorial, paradoxically, with the help of the dictatorial regime propaganda, became a crowded touristic site of institutional **MOURNING** from the sixties onwards. In those trips, my parents always skipped visiting its macabre architecture crowned by a still standing gigantic crucifix of hundred and fifty metres high and forty-six metres wide, that for sure would had impressed me; I guess they would have had to give too many explanations full of gaps that most of their generation, and the one before, thought they could also entomb in an exercise of collective **AMNESIA**. Rather, on our way to Barcelona, we would find pleasant natural sites like Zaragoza's 'Monasterio de Piedra[6] or Cuenca's Enchanted City[7].

The first Championship we did took place in Aviles, Asturias, in Northern Spain, where we

Mourning is the process that enables us to digest the events and adapt to a new reality that is starting to brew. Within the capitalist game and the happiness industry, the set of emotions, mental representations, and behaviours linked to harm or frustration, either facing the loss of human beings, inanimate objects, situations or status of the self-image or own capacities, can even reach out to enrich and transform identity. Life can be understood as a stepped set of mourning processes that we could extend to the political sphere and the history of civilization.

(Soroll Blanc #4, symposium organised by Lola Lasurt at Cohabitar Entre-, Centre d'Art Fabra i Coats, https://www.barcelona.cat/fabraicoats/centredart/ca/content/soroll-blanc4-el-dol. Accessed 20 March 20129.)

But how does one reconcile the **amnesia** reproach, articulated already in the inter-war period by philosophers as different as Heidegger and Adorno, with the observation that simultaneously our culture is obsessed with the issue of memory? Clearly, Adorno's brilliant Marxist critique of the freezing of memory in the commodity form still addresses an important dimension of **amnesia** today, but, in its reductive collapsing of commodity form and psychic structure, it fails to give us the tools to explain the mnemonic desires and practices that pervade our culture. The difficulty of the current conjuncture is to think of memory and **amnesia** together rather than simply to oppose them. Thus, our fever is not a consuming historical fever in Nietzsche's sense, which could be cured by productive forgetting. It is rather a mnemonic fever that is caused by the virus of **amnesia** that at times threatens to consume memory itself. In retrospect, we can see how the historical fever of Nietzsche's times functioned to invent national traditions, to legitimize the imperial nation-states, and to give cultural coherence to conflictive societies in the throes of the Industrial Revolution. In comparison, the mnemonic convulsions of our culture seem chaotic, fragmentary, and free-floating. They do not seem to have a clear political or territorial focus, but they do express our society's need for temporal anchoring when in the wake of the information revolution, the relationship between past, present, and future is being transformed. Temporal anchoring becomes even more important as the territorial and spatial coordinates of our late twentieth-century lives are blurred or even dissolved by increased mobility around the globe.

(Andreas Huyssen, *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia,* London: Routledge, 1995, p.7)

reached the last place after a car ran on Carolina's tibia the day before the competition on our way back from the pool to the hotel. Carolina was, by far, our best swimmer, and the day after we had to dance one less in the choreography still hearing her scream from under the wheel, and with the frozen image in mind of the driver in shock while us holding the engine pretending to literally move it up. However, most surely, we would have lost all the same, because we were really bad at that time and very unfamiliar with the dynamic of such a happening, meaning an official competition with rows of judges dressed in white. But somehow that failed attempt made us reconsider our strategy in such a way that we ended up coming second the following year at Santiago de Compostela, Galicia, in North-West Spain just above Portugal, and then first place the subsequent year at Las Palmas, in the Canary Islands, much further south on the Atlantic between Morocco and the Western Sahara. My penultimate championship took place at Navalmoral de la Mata, a tiny village of Extremadura, one of the driest pieces of land in Southern Spain with an impressive fifty metre swimming pool at its core, and where we also reached the first place. From then on, The Club (C.N. **KALIPOLIS**)[8] didn't recognise the achievements of coming second place anymore; the number of training hours, pressure and choreographic complexity was acutely intensified.

Approximately two months before each competition, we would start dancing rehearsals without goggles to prepare for the contest in which we would dance uncovered for merely aesthetic purposes and with special suits created as part of the performance. We had to get used to seeing and recognising each other **BLURRED** underwater and to properly situate ourselves in each concrete group figure at a certain distance, side by side, between us. We would identify ourselves by our volume, narrow particularities and gestures, having a complete sense of where everybody was at any time, noticing very quickly anything out of either physical or temporal place. We would also sense our position as a unit in relation to the under-pool space in order to properly follow the path that the choreography had to cover. All this had not been a problem to me until I was about to do the fifth and last championship in Madrid, the

Kalipolis; `Kali's city´. Over time, she, Kali, has been worshipped by devotional movements and tantric sects variously as the Divine Mother; her earliest appearance is that of a destroyer of evil forces. She is popularly depicted as a deep blue female figure, often portrayed standing or dancing on her consort, the Hindu god Shiva, who lies calm and prostrate beneath her. Kālī is also the feminine form of 'time' with the masculine noun `kāla´, and, by extension, time as changing aspect of nature that bring things to life or death. Since Shiva is called Kāla —the eternal time— Kālī, is interpreted as the controller of time. She has many other names like Kālikā (relating to time), Kālarātri (black night) or Bhadrakali (a gentle form of Kali).

(Diptarup Jana. *Kālī: The Goddess of Time and Darkness*, Behance, https://www.behance.net/gallery/57894401/Kali-The-Goddess-of-Time-and-Darkness. Accessed 21st August 2019).

Derrida challenged any univocal reading of the images, which takes the `right to inspect´ as a license to hold the `thread of the labyrinth´ too tightly. So too he sought to unsettle the initial power of the photographer to fix meaning. 'The appropriation of a point of view, for all its reliance on the contrivance of a photography, still unleashes violence. Possession- by that I mean leading to ecstasy- is negotiated through the right of inspection, and that right reverts to whoever possesses the camera, it reverts to the apparatus of capture held in one or the other's hands'. (Derrida and Plissart, 1999). The counterpart to such violence, however, cannot be another totalizing point of view, which would be like a panopticon, but rather fragments, which deny any view of the whole: 'no single panorama, but simply parts of bodies, torn-up or framed pieces, abyssal synecdoches, floating microscopic details, X-rays, sometimes focused, sometimes out of focus, hence **blurred**'.

(Martin Jay, Downcast *Eyes, The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-century French thought*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993, p.519)

capital, with the best choreographic piece ever designed for us. Suddenly, I could not stand my eyes' direct exposure to the water experiencing little panic attacks that would collapse my rational thinking. It was not about not breathing, it was about not seeing clearly submerged in that dense blurrity which made me feel closed as if the line tracing the limit between the water and the air on me was to transform into a glass unable to cross with all of us trapped inside; *Think about the feeling of being in absolute darkness without any light point of reference, do you get it?* was the explanation I used to try to make people understand I had **CLAUSTROPHOBIA** under the water, yet this account didn't make sense to anyone else, starting from my teammates, our coach, my best friend at school or my mother.

One evening, we had to rehearse the entire dance at the end of a special training session in presence of the national coach, the one preparing the elder swimmers for The Olympics and also leading all the staff of trainees. In an attempt to stay calm and do my best, I pretended not to separate from my goggles. This is when Eva, our coach, ruined my plan by sharply removing them from my head just before dropping into the water.

Each time the music began, we would automatically start following it rhythmically by counting repeatedly until eight, internally, simultaneously altogether. This was the method in which we danced synchronised with the **HABIT** to give each number its corresponding concrete body movement. We had performed the routines hundreds of times before as we used to call 'in dry', on foot outside the water translating the figures upside-down inside the water to a collectively improvised sign language we would perform outside, in which the legs would become arms, jointly counting aloud to inwardly assimilate the piece numerically as a body.

That evening I disassembled, stopped counting and popped out the water at the wrong number instantly meeting all the gazes indoors on me in an infinite silence while the rest of the group also had to stop. Ana Tarres, the National Coach, who has been recently removed from her

Yet nostalgia for the Soviet ancient regime suffered a serious setback in August 2000, at the time of the tragic accident of the Russian nuclear submarine Kursk. It was as if the whole nation suddenly shared the experience of slow death; it proved cathartic, even if it didn't end up being politically explosive. (…) Strangers discussed on the streets every piece of news and rumour about the tapping survivors, foreign aid refused, Putin's inaction and the indifferent generals. One huge country shared a sense of **claustrophobia** and intimacy in the face of disaster. 'We all live in the Soviet submarine' was a common refrain.

(Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books, 2001, p.70)

The memory of the lesson, which is remembered in the sense of learning by heart, has all the marks of a **habit**. Like a **habit**, it is acquired by the repetition of the same effort. Like a **habit**, it demands first a decomposition and then a recomposition of the whole action. Lastly, like every habitual bodily exercise, it is stored up in a mechanism which is set in motion as a whole by an initial impulse, in a closed system of automatic movements which succeed each other in the same order and, together, take the same length of time.

The memory of each several reading, on the contrary, the second or the third for instance, has *none* of the marks of a **habit**. Its image was necessarily imprinted at once on the memory, since the other readings form, by their very definition, other recollections. It is like an event in my life; its essence is to bear a date, and consequently to be unable to occur again.

(Henri Bergson, *Matter and Memory*. *Chapter II: Two forms of Memory*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1911, pp. 89,90.)

position because of some ex-swimmers' accusations on her out of place rugosity at the time to punish, remained quiet. If I had been mistaken or lazy, she would have started shouting from the first second, but she cleverly understood this was something else and while she was trying to get it our own coach had already shouted out we had to start again from the beginning. That was followed by a Saturday exhibition in which I refused to dance remaining in the changing room until being forcibly invited to see it ashamed from the bench.

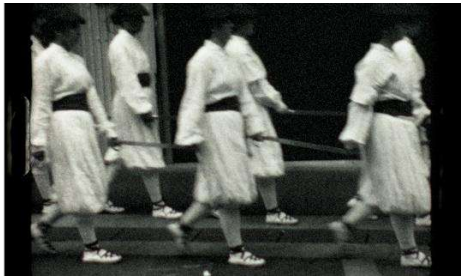
One night, I asked my mother to bring me to a psychologist while she was driving home. She also didn't know too much about what was going on; as the little one appearing ten years after my sister and eight after my brother, I would usually enjoy listening to them, as they were really fun, than explaining anything about myself. I told her I had denied being underwater several times and that it could not happen again, that I had to dance at the championship in a month's time and I was not capable of remaining underwater. At that time, Synchronised Swimming was not the most common practice in Spain, so we didn't have any possible proper substitutes. As it was established, the team had to be composed of eight girls; each girl down would result in a considerably lower score for the whole group. I was literally in a cul-de-sac and it seemed nobody around could help to figure out how to proceed. As my mother started her speech on breathing as she was taught to do in order to give birth, I stated that if she didn't know any psychologists, I could find one. Two days later we were there. After a one-hour session, she, a woman in her fifties, told me I was not done for the competition, which I immediately agreed but simultaneously was expecting so hard to hear any sort of explanation for my symptoms. She also told me it would be better to quit after the championship in order to finish what I had started and not damage my self-esteem (she didn't know there was no choice anyway). And she gave me some pills; explaining how they would maintain a calmness in my heart from the time my nerves would start to accelerate. Before leaving, she told us it would be nice to return to learn some breathing techniques too. On our way back to the car, my mother mentioned the cost of that one-hour session and told me, again, she would teach me how **TO BREATHE** herself.

A middle-aged woman caresses the head of a very young girl. After these few seconds of comfort, she resumes a commanding stance and begins to clap her hands with short, measured rests. Each different type of clapping seems to be a sort of coded message because the young girl reacts to each by adapting the rhythm and the depth of her breathing. There is even one type of clapping that makes the girl react by not breathing at all.

In this piece by Dora García, we witness a little girl taking a lesson in breathing technique. As she leaves her **breathing** (her life) in her trainer's hands. `The **Breathing** Lesson´ tackles issues to do with trust and intimacy, since to dispense the control of one's breathing to another is in itself an act of dispossession of one's body. If we can learn **to breathe**, to control the rhythm and the time intervals between our inhalation and our exhalation, we can likewise prepare to follow the opposite process, that is, to learn to stop doing so. By minimizing the intake of air, and by regulating the processes of systole and diastole such that these diminish in frequency, we can slow down the process such that we almost completely stop **breathing**. In this piece, it is the trainer who knows the technique and controls the process.

Taking our body to its limits is an exercise of self-control, but it can also be, as in this case, an instance of total predisposition and trust in another person. This piece operates within this dilemma, and more than affirming, what it seems to be doing is opening the door to new questions. What type of relationship is going to take shape between these two people? What is the limit of trust in another? Does every bodily process have its symmetric opposite? Where is the border between submission and domination? Could it be that controlling one's breathing is one way of maintaining one's youth? These and other questions come up when watching this piece. It is an open work that doesn't foreclose any of the possible answers.

(HAMACA, *The Breathing Lesson, Dora García 2001*, <https://www.hamacaonline.net/titles/the-breathing-lesson/>. Accessed 23 March 2019)



Even with my love for her, I was not relying on my mother's relaxing techniques, and realised I had to take some action apart from eating pills. Thus, I decided to go and visit Ana Tarres at her office; she was the one all the trainees wanted to satisfy and somehow, I noticed all the pressure on us through them was coming from her. I explained to her carefully what was happening to me, how I felt closed underwater and that after some time trying to fight against it, I went to visit a psychologist who told me I was not done for competition and recommended some medication in order to be able to take part in the coming contest. I guaranteed her I would participate in it swimming to reach the first place again and quit afterwards, but that in the meantime I needed no pressure and would work on it on my own within the usual team dynamics. I asked if she would be kind enough not to disclose this personal information to the rest of the trainees.

I also talked with Eva, my own coach, who after telling my mother she hoped there were no drug controls in Madrid as I was not the only one in the team eating them, did something right, which was to include Jose Maria into the conversation. Jose Maria was from Andalusia and came to Barcelona with one of the immigration waves in the sixties, during the dictatorship. He was the pool technician in charge of its maintenance, and we agreed with him that he would increase the intensity of lighting in the pool, **FRAMING**, this way, each time we would be dancing so that I could see more clearly. Whilst my problem was not with darkness, but rather with the liquid blur abstraction, the fact that somebody was aware and trying to help, pushed me to react. I had always had a good relationship with Jose Maria because at some point I started confusing the swimming pool with my home, leaving my stuff spread in different spots around it, which he would always collect at the machines room. It was there where he had all the maintenance equipment and his laboratory, the warmest and quietest place in the building. It was somehow the backstage I was visiting each time I was missing something, which was often. But it was also the place I would often enter pretending I was looking for something I had lost and didn't exist, just to remain there on my own for some minutes while moving

Understanding for real that the analytical situation becomes an affective relational experience not only consisting in the evocation of the past, but that also activates the conditions that structure the subject psychism, above most, the influence of other external affective and discursive impulses that were present during childhood. These reconceptualizations of the analytical experience implies, for Winnicott, to pose again the significance of the **framing**. The Clinique of 'the regression to dependence' is a Clinique of the **framing** as a process; this implies not to consider it any more as a neutral frame neither as an experimental situation in which change can take place, as we normally use to understand the analytical process. Winnicott's **framing** includes the attitude of the analyst that goes beyond interpretation, the caring through opposed to the working through as he himself used to mention, or, even better, that the emotional experience of what we call frame provides, is also the motor of transformation.

(Francesc Sainz Bermejo, *Winnicott y la prespectiva relacional en el psicoanalisis.* Barcelona: Herder Editorial, 2016, p189.)

around anonymous lost objects inside their large plastic tub. Another of the actions I undertook, was to remain as the last one to leave the pool, about a quarter of an hour after each training session, so that I could confront myself, my **LONELINESS**, submerged within the blurred liquid mass, with no nagging, no noise, getting confident with no goggles.

We went to Madrid and reached first place again and I quit synchronised swimming directly afterwards.

Carmen

Counting an average of three times per day, five days a week, which is sixty times a month, from October till June, eight consecutive months, let's forget about September's warming up, and leaving the exercises 'in dry' apart; we were performing the same **CHOREOGRAPHY** approximately four hundred and eighty times a year.

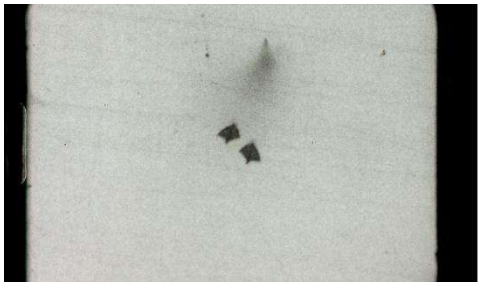
As I started writing this text, I realised I could not remember what we actually danced in Madrid. I knew it was a strong choral piece starting with a massive buzzing that used to appear deeply anguished to me, yet addictive at the same time. I also knew for sure that it somehow had a link with flamenco because our suits and caps were made in a simple composition of two-colour planes: black on red, with no sequins this time, which we would combine with golden hoop earrings on purpose, but, at the same time, not recognising it as a pure flamenco dance. I did some research contacting my old teammates with not much success; they could not remember it either. My mother texted me thinking it was *Carmina Burana* (1936), and after checking it in YouTube I confirmed that Carl Orff's (1895-1982) 'O Fortuna', part of the scenic cantata *Carmina Burana* he composed between 1935 and 1936, certainly did ring a bell to me. *Carmina Burana* means 'songs of Beuren' in English from Latin, and it is based on a collection of medieval

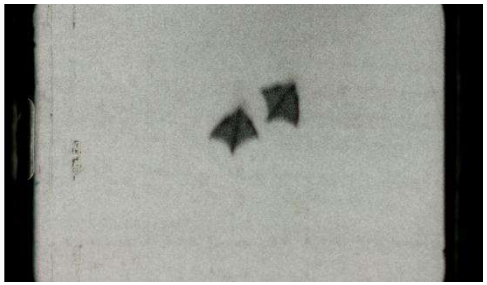
In many cases, **loneliness** generates suffering, in which case one flees from it. It can be a defensive refuge to avoid facing pain or the anxieties of emotional life. This is how Winnicott understands it, but for him it is also a personal capacity. If we can feel loneliness as a treasure that allows us to be good with ourselves, we are also capable of playing and, therefore, can connect with transitional experiences. Again, the paradox is that you can be good with yourself because you have felt accompanied by someone confinable; at the same time, this relationship with oneself predisposes the good relationship with others. Winnicott (1958) calls it 'the relationality of the self', which, far from being an isolated intrapsychic relationship, represents the relationship with oneself in which the other is always present.

(Francesc Sainz Bermejo. Winnicott y la prespectiva relacional en el psicoanalisis. Barcelona:Herder Editorial, 2016, p.108)

In a large number of Degas' studies, the individual sheet or painting appears merely as a preliminary result of an ongoing process of constructing, revising and defining rules, which precede his painterly '**choreography**'. Comparable with the dance rehearsal that happens before its public performance, Degas' medium is obviously tasted in order to create a body of painting. As Lillian Brose states, in the opera schools Degas found `that much toil goes into the making of a dancer as a painter, and a good deal more sweat´: `He discovered that, just as has to draw every day repeating and correcting scores of times, observing ceaselessly, remembering gestures, tones, masses and changes of light, so the dancer must discipline herself and like him, without becoming mechanical. Daily, in the heat or cold, whether physically inclined or not, she must work for hours at the barre(…) every part of her body needing separate attention until all can be coordinated; until technique, becoming so perfected, no longer require conscious thought and then all can be given to artistry'.

(Sabeth Buchmann, 'Rehersing in/with Media; Some Remarks on the Relationship between Dance, Film and Painting'. In *Painting beyond Itself: The Medium in the Post-medium Condition*, ed. by Isabelle Graw and Ewa Lajer-burcharth, Berlin: Sternberg Press / Institut für Kunstkritik series, 2016, p.160)





poems and songs found in a Bavarian monastery in 1803. *O Fortuna* recalls the piece *Fortuna Imperatrix Mundi*, 'Fortune, Empress of the World', and the translation of its lyrics starts with `Fortune spins her wheel. Who will win, who will lose?'. Its full Latin title is *Carmina Burana: Cantiones profanæ cantoribus et choris cantandæ comitantibus instrumentis atque imaginibus magicis*, 'Songs of Beuern: Secular songs for singers and choruses to be sung together with instruments and magical images'.

As I said, it appeared radically familiar to me, but the pleasure with which I actually listened to it made me think it was not what we had been dancing and, thinking further, I realised it was the elders' (our next consecutive category by age) music instead; as we were sharing the pool, we also heard it some hundred times. Thus, the soundtracks of that 1996 were Carmina Burana's 'O Fortuna', and Suddenly 'Carmen' came to my mind but, although its melodies are very popular, I could not imagine myself dancing to it from the first fragments I found of the opera on YouTube. Bizet's Carmen lasts for approximately two and a half hours on stage; if we were dancing Carmen, which scene was it and what were we enacting or, simply, what were those chorus shouting aloud? I didn't remember it because I never knew it and I never asked.

Then Laia, an ex-dancing-mate, was able to send me two links. She was the one I must have spent most time with during my childhood because we used to live on the same block and our mothers would alternate bringing us to the pool. Her father was a film aficionado who has the record of all we did; the first link was to the digitised VHS tape covering the final performance I did with the team and the second link was to Shazman[9] which confirmed that the sound piece we performed, the audio coming from that VHS tape, is titled *'Que se passe-t-il donc là-bas?*', 'What's going on down there?' in English from French, and corresponds to the 8th scene within the First Act of George Bizet's (1838-1875) opera 'Carmen' (1875) based on the novel that Prosper Merimee[10] (1803-1870) made in 1845 under the same name. At the same time, Aleksander Pushkin's (1799- 1837) narrative poem 'The Gypsies'[11] (1824), which Merimee read in Russian in 1840 and translated into French 1852, appears as a clear precedent.

It seems I was not the only one closed in awe; the massive choral buzzing at the beginning of the piece comes from the voices of the gypsy cigar manufacturers in Sevilla, claiming help to the soldiers outside the factory through its gate as a brutal fight was going on inside.

I located the Carmen Opera Guide carefully published by Overture in association with The English National Opera in 2013, where I found its lyrics translated by Richard Langham from Henri Meilhac and Ludovic Halevy original libretto. The following lyrics correspond to the 8th scene we danced:

SCENE N 8 Chorus

CIGAR GIRLS,2ND SOPRANOS (in the wings)
Help!

CIGAR GIRLS,1st SOPRANOS (in the wings)
Help!
(Zuniga enters, accompanied by soldiers.)

ZUNIGA[12] (spoken)
Well, well, what's going on here?
(The cigar girls come out in a disorderly fashion.)

CIGAR GIRLS,1st SOPRANOS
Help! Help! Can't you hear?

CIGAR GIRLS,2nd SOPRANOS
Help! Help! Soldier men!

FIRST GROUP OF WOMEN
It was Carmencita!

SECOND GROUP OF WOMEN
No, no, it wasn't her!

FIRST GROUP
It was her, it was definitely her!
She started it!

SECOND GROUP (surrounding the lieutenant)
Don't listen to them!

FIRST GROUP (surrounding the lieutenant)
Don't listen to them!
Sir, listen to us!

SECOND GROUP OF WOMEN
Monsieur, listen to us!

FIRST GROUP OF WOMEN
Monsieur, listen to us!

ALL THE WOMEN
Monsieur, listen to us!

2ND SOPRANOS (taking the officer aside)
Manuelita said,
And repeated it in a loud voice,
That she could buy a good donkey
Which would give her pleasure.

1ST SOPRANOS (in a similar way)
So Carmencita replied,
Mockingly, as usual,
Said: 'A donkey? What for?'
A broom would satisfy you!

2ND SOPRANOS
Manuelita replied and said to her friend:
'For a certain type of walk
my donkey would be perfect!

1st SOPRANOS
'So, on that day you would have the right to be proud!
Two lackeys would be following
Swatting of the flies'

ALL THE WOMEN
At that, both of them started pulling
Each other's hair,
Both of them, both of them
Pulling their hair!

ZUNIGA (annoyed)
To hell with all this gossip!
To hell with all this gossip!

(to Don Jose)
Take two men with you, Jose,
And go inside to see who's caused this row!
(Don Jose takes two men with him, and the soldiers go into the factory. Meanwhile, the women crowd together, quarrelling among themselves.)

FIRST GROUP
It was Carmencita!
SECOND GROUP
No, no, it wasn't her!

FIRST GROUP
Yes, yes; it was definitely her!

SECOND GROUP
No, it wasn't her!

FIRST GROUP
She started it!

ZUNIGA (deafened, to the soldiers)
Hey!
Get these women out of my way!

CIGAR GIRLS
Monsieur!

SOLDIERS (pushing the women back and separating them)
Quietly, quietly!

CIGAR GIRLS
Sir!

SOLDIERS
Get back!

CIGAR GIRLS
Sir!

SOLDIERS
And shut up!

CIGAR GIRLS
Sir!

CIGAR GIRLS
Don't listen to them!

SOLDIERS
Quietly please, and get back!

CIGAR GIRLS
Sir, listen!

SOLDIERS
Get back!

CIGAR GIRLS
Listen to us!

SOLDIERS
Get back!

CIGAR GIRLS
Listen to us!
Listen to us, sir!

SOLDIERS
Get back!
And shut up!

CIGAR GIRLS
Listen to us, sir!

SOLDIERS
Quietly! Get back!

(The cigar girls slip through the hands of the soldiers, who are trying to push them away. They hurl themselves on Zuniga and resume their chorus.)

ZUNIGA
Hey! Soldiers!
(The soldiers finally succeed in pushing back the cigar girls. The women are held at a distance around the square by a line of dragoons. Carmen appears at the factory gates escorted by Don Jose and followed by two dragons.)

1ST SOPRANOS
It was Carmencita
Who struck the first blows!

2ND SOPRANOS
It was Manuelita
Who struck the first bowls!

1ST SOPRANOS
Carmencita!

2ND SOPRANOS
Manuelita!

1ST SOPRANOS
Yes!

2ND SOPRANOS
No!

1ST SOPRANOS
Yes! yes! yes! yes!

2ND SOPRANOS
No! No! No!
CIGARS GIRLS
She struck the first bowls!

SOLDIERS
Quietly! Quietly! Get back!
Get back and shut up!

1ST SOPRANOS
It was Carmencita!

2ND SOPRANOS
It was Manuelita!

SOLDIERS
Get back!

1ST SOPRANOS
It was Carmencita!

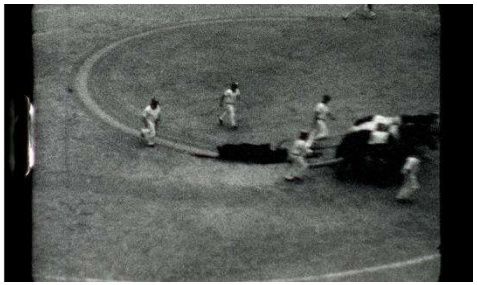
2ND SOPRANOS
It was Manuelita!

SOLDIERS
Get back
And shut up, shut up!
Get back!

1ST SOPRANOS
It was Carmencita, Carmencita!

2ND SOPRANOS
Manuelita, Manuelita!
(The square is finally cleared. The women are kept at a distance.)

(Henri Meilhac and Ludovic Halevy, 'Carmen, Libretto'. In *Carmen. Georges Bizet*, ed. by Gary Kahn. London: Richmond, Overture Opera Guides in association with ENO (English National Opera), Overture Publishing, an imprint of Alma Classics, 2013, pp.153-165)



From the lyrics, we can guess that the value of the opera falls on the musical composition. In summary, set in Seville around 1830, the opera deals with the love and jealousy of Don José, who is lured away from his duty as a soldier and his beloved Micaëla by the gypsy factory-girl Carmen, whom he allows to escape from custody for having cut up the face of another girl - Manuelita - at work. He is later induced to join the smugglers with whom Carmen is associated, but is driven wild by jealousy. This comes to a head when Carmen makes clear her preference for the bull-fighter Escamillo. The last act, outside the bull-ring in Seville, brings Escamillo to the arena, accompanied by Carmen, there stabbed to death by Don José, who has been awaiting her arrival.

It seems **BIZET** started writing it in 1873 as a commission from Paris *Opéra-Comique*[13], which for a century had specialised in presenting light moralistic pieces in which virtue is ultimately rewarded. He was thirty-six when it premiered, also dying three months later. The work introduced a note of realism into opera that proved unacceptable to many who saw the first performances. Objection was taken to the wild and immoral behaviour of Carmen, the chorus of cigarette factory-girls, their smoking, and the final murder of Carmen on the stage.

The tobacco factory in Sevilla began its production in 1758. Tobacco came both from Virginia and the Spanish colonies in the Americas, where we encountered the tobacco plant almost immediately upon our first arrival in the Americas in 1492, which was followed by a well-known, and literally unprecedented, fierce tragic process of colonisation with its corresponding dismantling of ancestral cultures. At the beginning of the 16th century, the first tobacco manufacturers in Europe established themselves in Seville. Initially dispersed through the city, were concentrated in one place afterward for sanitary reasons and also to facilitate state control of the activity. At some point during the 18th century, the royal government built the still present industrial building immediately outside the city walls; Sevilla's tobacco factory was the second largest construction in Spain at that time only after the precious dismal Monastery of El Escorial hosting the Catholic Kings grief mentioned earlier in this chapter. Built in a land known as 'de las calaveras', 'of the skulls', the factory ground had also been the site of Ancient Roman burials.

The sixth National Championship I should have done if I had not quit dancing, took place in Sevilla. Coincidentally, I visited the Andalusian capital for the first time just after presenting my project 'Mourning for the Black Spain' in Madrid; I travelled South to start working on a collaboration with Pedro G. Romero[14]**.**

In order to contextually learn about Carmen, we need to recapitulate at the tobacco factory

*'Yesterday I heard - would you believe it? - **Bizet's** masterpiece for the twentieth time. (…) How such a work makes one perfect! This music seems perfect to me. It approaches lightly, supplely, politely. It is pleasant, it does not sweat. 'What is good is light; whatever is godly moves on tender feet': first principle of my aesthetics. This music is evil, subtly fatalistic; at the same time, it remains popular - its subtlety belongs to a race, not to an individual. (…) Have more painful tragic accents even been shared on the stage? How are they achieved? Without grimaces. Without counterfeit. Without the lie of the great style.'*

(Friedrich Nietzshe, 'The Case of Wagner; A Musician's Problem; a Letter from Turin, May 1988 "RIDENDO DICERE SEVERUM…"', in *The Case of Wagner, Nietzsche Contra Wagner, and Selected Aphorisms*. Edinburgh and London: T. N. Foulis, 1911, pp.18,19.)

history after closing during the Peninsular War[15]; it reopened in 1813 only with the female workforce to accommodate the changing fashion for imbibing tobacco to all kinds of cigars and cigarettes. The imposing building and its regime became famous internationally, even becoming illustrated in several of Dore's engravings to depict Baron Charles Devillier's L'Espagne (1874), revealing, as does the opera (the book was published only some months before the opera premiered), the moment when the factory bell marks the workers entrances and exists, twenty years before the birth of film with 'Workers Leaving the Lumière Factory in Lyon' (1895). It became well known for its 'unique' employment of women, in particular, the underclass which resided across the Guadalquivir River in Triana together with the gypsy community.

Triana is now connected by a bridge, but in the early days the *cigarreras* came over by boat, as it is attested in early photographs. Its regime was celebrated for the chance it gave to women, often already with children, to earn money legitimately rather to be forced into prostitution. Some cleverly saw it as exploitative already then, since of course women could be paid less than men for the same work, currently still standing as a well-preserved global tradition. The scene depicting the dispute between 'Carmencita' and 'Manuelita', which we embodied in our swimming, is also an embroidery of reality: the girls were paid for the piece - the number of cigars they produced - and the speed at which they could fashion these were determined by the quality of the tobacco leaves given to them. Records for the factory shows that a number of girls were dismissed for insubordination and aggression and this issue forms a major part of the interest of Act One at the opera. The presence of children in and around the factory is also developed into a number by the librettists as the children imitate the soldiers in their 'urchins chorus', leaving a free interpretation: perhaps to escape censorship at the same time, they either imitate the soldiers because they want to be soldiers when they grow up, or it is an element of parody.

But in the 21st century, the plot presents some problems. This is a story in which the metaphor of sexual irresistibleness is literalized: When the woman refuses to be penetrated sexually, she is stabbed, instead, with a knife. The opera follows a soldier called Don Jose as he abandons the army and his childhood sweetheart to pursue a **gypsy** with a reputation: She's sexually aggressive and well-known for enjoying her attractiveness. Carmen claims to be in love with Don Jose for a little while – long enough to secure impunity for her involvement in a factory brawl. There's a brief interlude of romance before she leaves him for a dashing toreador named Escamillo. Don Jose begs her to return to him. When she says no, he stabs her onstage.

What we end up with is a killing that has the tenor of an exorcism. Don Jose is morally absolved of whatever violence he may enact upon Carmen's body because, according to the trope of the femme fatale, he is the real victim. He has been seduced against his will, lured by the 'cunning suppleness of a beast of prey´ (that's another Nietzschean definition of women, from his 1886 Beyond Good and Evil). So Carmen's death becomes a sacrificial purging, an act that delivers society from evil and re-establishes morality, civility and order.

The production trend in the past few decades has been to turn over or complicate this reading, reimagining Carmen as a sexually liberated feminist. Renowned theatre director Peter Brook directed a controversial version in New York in 1984. His approach was to go back to the original French novella by Prosper Mérrimée, claiming that Bizet's watered-down interpretation (necessary to duck the censors of late-19th-century France) simplified Carmen's character to the extent that it helped engender a one-dimensional stereotype. In 2007, film director Sally Potter directed her own version for the English National Opera. In a Guardian article, she explained that she envisioned Carmen not as a victim of male jealousy or violence, but as a freedom fighter, determined to write her own destiny. Reviews of both productions were lukewarm; critics claimed these heavily reconceptualized Carmens were missing all the original heat.

(Martha Schebas. *Carmen, What Nietzsche's love of Carmen can say about his hatred of women*, <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/arts/theatre-and-performance/what-nietzsches-love-of-carmen-can-say-about-his-hatred-of-women/article29586876/. Accessed 14th April 2019)>. Accessed 20 February 2019)

Bizet librettists transformed Merimee's narration but it still contains details not only from the whole novella but also from other reminiscences of Spain which Merimee included in essays on a bullfight, an execution and an interview with a bandit. Carmen was the result of Merimee's second trip to Spain in 1840, a significant date fallen just after the formation of *La Guardia Civil*, an armed force whose principal reason was to rid Spain of bandits. Today *La Guardia Civil* still gives the name to the Spanish official state police. One crucial theme in the opera is the conflict between soldiers and bandits, encapsulated in Jose's change from one side to the other. The libretto softens many aspects of the novella while developing others. Merimee's Carmen has a horrible, murderous, one-eyed husband called Garcia who is removed from the libretto. On the other hand, the libretto invents an operatic foil, Michaela, the angel of the fireside. Where Carmen is a dark-skinned Andalusian, described as a sexy adventurous **GYPSY** dressed in red, Michaela is a blonde-haired Catholic virgin dressed in blue. Michaela's devotion for Jose and her friendship with his mother are thus inventions of the librettists though she is developed from hints of a northern girl at the novella. Bizet librettists also strengthen the novel sense of place through which a main conflict of the opera is projected: that of imposed masculine order against female unruliness.

The tobacco historian from Seville José Manuel Rodríguez Gordillo (1942-2015), who dedicates his book 'Carmen, biografia de un mito' (Carmen, a myth biography) to her grandmother, Carmen Galocha, a former *cigarrera*, defends Merimeé's anthropological approach to the Spanish reality of his time to the detriment of the list of clichés reproduced by The Opéra-Cómique librettists at Carmen's adaptation for Bizet's opera.

Carmen's **REHEARSALS** were hard; Halevy, the librettist, recalled that after two months of rehearsals, the chorus threatened to go on strike precisely over the unperformable cigar girls' entrance chorus and bloody scuffle during the arrest of Carmen, the precise fragment that we

While Degas's dance studies created in the late nineteenth century can be related to the way in which the female body, according to Foucault, became a preferred terrain of social disciplining. Yvonne Rainer's (1934) film (Lives of Performers, 1972), would have to be considered against the background of disciplinary rules, as they were expedited by the members of the so called post-1968 generation in the name of (newly) intertwining art and everyday practice. In view of the attendant (bio-)political charge of artistic methods that –as the example of Silke Otto-Knapp (1970) makes clear- contemporary painting sets up in relation to historical constellations of visual and performing arts, the topos of the **rehearsal** highlights a lively 'in the making' that bears witness to bodily and affective stakes instead of solely reifying 'making-of' a product.

(Sabeth Buchmann. 'Rehersing in/with Media; Some Remarks on the Relationship between Dance, Film and Painting'. In *Painting beyond Itself: The Medium in the Post-medium Condition.* Ed. by Isabelle Graw, and Ewa Lajer-burcharth. Berlin: Sternberg Press / Institut für Kunstkritik series, 2016, p.169)

swam. In mid-February 1875, Bizet pleaded to add ten female choristers so that these pieces in the first act could be performed and offered to rehearse them himself.

And yet, the aura of failure surrounding Carmen after its overture was slow to dissipate in Paris, and its reception was also complicated by the unexpected death of Bizet himself that was seen to be partially the result of severe disappointment and depression; a rumour of suicide even briefly did the rounds. Bizet's martyrdom at the hands of his critics became part of the opera's legend.

Mourning for the Black Spain

Although Carmen is often seen as a starting point for a chain of French pieces on Spanish themes, it was in its time merely a stepping stone in the rush of francophone intellectual enthusiasm for Spanish culture which arose in the mid-nineteenth century in the wake of Napoleon's defeat in the Peninsular War (1808-1814) (Langham, 1913). Chabrier's *Espana* (1883), Debussy's *Iberia* (1912), Ravel's *L'Heure Espagnole* (1907) and *Bolero* (1928), may have drawn inspiration from Carmen, but Bizet's opera was merely a high point in the fashion for Spanish things which snowballed from 1830 onwards. After the Napoleonic defeat in 1814, many Spanish citizens who supported him were considered collaborators forced to exile north. Among them, were artists, thinkers, musicians and dancers who captivated the French with their arts but also perfected them there. In literature, travelogues to the country across the Pyrenees were much in fashion. Merimee's novel Carmen was to some extent one of these but had been preceded by such writers as Theophile **GAUTIER**[16] in several genres.

Among French painters bitten by the Spanish bug was Manet, with his portrait of Lola de Valence as a testimony; Petra Camara, a celebrated Spanish dancer, was depicted by

CHAPTER XII: FROM MALAGA TO SEVILLE

The Four-wheeled Galera - Caratraca - The `Mayoral´ - Ecija - The `Calle de los Caballeros´ - La Carlotta – Cordova - The Archangel Raphael - The Mosque - Caliph Abderama - The Guadalquiver - Road to Seville.

As yet we were only acquainted with the galera on two wheels; we now had the pleasure of making a trial of one on four. An amiable vehicle of this description happened to be about starting for Cordova; it was already occupied with a Spanish family, and we helped to fill it still more. Just fancy rather a low wagon, with its sides formed of a number of wooden spokes at a considerable distance from each other, and having no bottom save a strip of spartum on which the trunks and packages are heaped, without much attention to the irregularities of surface which they may present. Above the luggage are thrown two or three mattresses, or, to speak more correctly, two or three linen sacks, in which a few tufts of wool but very slightly carded, float about, and on these mattresses the unfortunate travellers are stretched transversely, in a position very similar (excuse the triviality of the comparison) to that of calves that are being carried to market. The only difference is, that the travellers do not have their feet tied, but their situation is not much more comfortable for all that. The top consists of a coarse cloth, stretched on wooden hoops, and the whole machine is driven by a mayoral and dragged by four mules.

(Théophile **Gautier**, *Voyage en Espagne*. Paris: Cahrpentier, Libraire-éditeur, 1843, p.236)

Chasseriau, and Degas has a series of paintings, almost appearing as a stop-motion exercise, of his father closely listening at the guitarist Llorenç Pagans (Girona,1833- Paris,1883). Also, Francisco de Goya spent the four last years of his life in Southern France as he felt forced to exile fearing retaliation in Madrid as a supporter of the first Spanish Constitution signed in 1912 under Napoleon's rule in a moment of return to an absolutist monarchic government. Even Luibov Popova starts a series of Spanish guitars from the years she spends in Paris; this serial clearly depicts her progress towards geometric abstraction.

But from the time Carmen premiered, already looking towards the 'Fin du Siècle', a wave of Spanish modern romantics curiously decided to move towards the francophone cultural magnet of Brussels instead of Paris. Prominent musicians like Isaac Albéniz (Girona,1860- Labourd, France, 1909) and Enrique Fernández Arbós (Madrid, 1863- San Sebastian, 1939) enrolled at its Royal Conservatory meanwhile the landscape painter **DARIO DE REGOYOS** (Asturias, 1857-Barcelona, 1913) joined its Fine Arts Royal Academy. In Paris, The Commune had just led in 1871 to the Third French Republic, based in the anti-clerical middle class who saw the Church's alliance with the monarchists as an obvious political threat to the rational modern spirit of progress. Meanwhile, the Belgian Revolution in 1830, had led to the separation from the Protestant Netherlands and to the establishment of a Catholic and bourgeois French-speaking independent Belgium; a constitutional monarchy and parliamentary democracy with the instalment of Leopold I as King in 1831. It seems Belgium and Spain were thus preserved as monarchic states with a strong identity inseparable from the Catholic popular agenda. There is also a non-anecdotic fact consisting in that Belgium was ruled by the Spanish Crown from 1556 to 1714, not a brief period of time, inside a region known as The Low Countries Seventeen Provinces that comprised most of the modern states of Belgium and Luxembourg, parts of northern France, southern Netherlands, and western Germany with the capital already in Brussels. When the part of The Netherlands separated to form the autonomous Dutch Republic in 1581; the remainder of the area stayed under Spanish rule for more than a century until

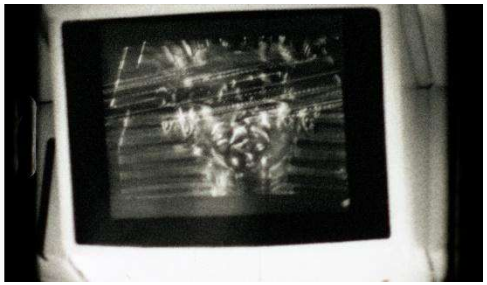
Notas de viaje: I. POR LA COSTA CANTÁBRICA.

Buscábamos una diligencia átodo trance con mulas viciadas, dispuestas á rodar por los precipicios, á romper los arreos y matar al mayoral. Los paisajes hacían desearlos; con furia de artislas íbamos preparados á lo que nos reservase la casualidad; guisotes rojizos, calamares negros, quesos petrificados; la posada grasienta y perforada por los insectos.

Travel Notes: I. ALONG THE CANTABRIAN COAST.

We were looking for a stagecoach at all costs, with vicious mules, ready to roll over precipices, to break the harness and kill the foreman. The landscapes made us long for them; with the fury of the artists, we were prepared for whatever chance might have in store for us; reddish stews, black squid, petrified cheeses and the greasy inn perforated by insects.

(**Darío de Regoyos** & **Emile Verhaeren**, *España Negra*. Barcelona: Imprenta de Pedro Ortega, 1898, p.9)



The War of the Spanish Succession.

Dario de Regoyos stayed at the Belgian capital for ten years with frequent trips to the cutting-edge city of Paris and soon became part of renewing Belgian francophone artistic circles of the moment like L'Essor and Les Vingt[17]. His development and style were the product of continuous interaction with artist-friends between Paris and Brussels, some were part of these avant-gardes like James Ensor, Paul Signac or Théo van Rysselberghe, other were related artists with these groups such as Camille Pissarro or Georges Seurat. He also established bonds with the elder realist Constantin Meunier, the art sponsor Edmond Picard, and, above all, the art critic and poet **EMILE VERHAEREN**.

My project 'Mourning for the Black Spain' is based on the **REENACTMENT** of the journey that Darío de Regoyos undertook together with Emile Verhaeren in 1888, firstly by different towns of the Spanish Cantabrian coast and then down through the by then so-called 'Dry Spain', towards the country's central core. The book *'España Negra'* (Black Spain) ***fig.1***, published in 1899, contains the notes written by the Belgian poet as a chronicle of the journey under the title *'Impressions d'artiste'* for the Franco-Belgian magazine *L'Art Moderne*[18]. Ten years later, when the notes seemed forgotten, Regoyos translated them with some freedom to first publish them in the Spanish magazine *La Luz*[19] to later illustrate them with a series of engravings from his drawings within a more complex type of publication being *'Espana Negra'* its result. The book works as a chart of the more advanced etching techniques of that time. This publication is considered to be the founding of a phenomenon that reflects the influence of European symbolism, from the writings of Victor Hugo or Baudelaire to the equally 'black' universe of 'German Night', the English Gothic novel or the French Roman noir, of artists in love with devout and stark lands, the funeral melancholy of cemeteries and monasteries, with the use of the chiaroscuro by older Spanish painters such as Velazquez, Zurbarán, El Greco, and, of course,

As psychoanalyst and expert within the field of traumatic dissociation, Philip Bromberg, summarizes, "...the patient allows the emergence of regressed states of experience along with the intense **reenactment** of early and sometimes primitive modes of thinking, feeling, and behaving...the deeper the regression that can be safely allowed by the patient, the richer the experience and the greater its reverberation on the total organization of the self. Psychoanalytic change is not simply a matter of a new piece of information being added to an otherwise intact and well-organized data bank. For the deepest analytic growth to occur, the new experience must require that the existing pattern of self-representation reorganize in order to make room for it."

(Philip M.Bromberg, *Standing in the spaces: Essays on clinical process, trauma, and dissociation*. New York: Psychology Press, 1998, p.143; in Dr. Maddisen Espeseth. *Relational Psychoanalytic Theory,* <https://www.drmaddisenespeseth.com/relational-psychoanalytic-theory>. Accessed 29 July 2022)

fig.1

Goya's 'black paintings' which were in contrast with the luminous, cheerful and more popular ample images of the country given by successful painters such as Joaquin Sorolla at that time.

This 'black legend' will later connect with the preoccupations of 20th century Spanish intellectuals as diverse as Luis Buñuel, Federico Garcia Lorca, Gutierrez Solana or Quintanilla, and representatives of more contemporary groups such as El Paso[20], Afal[21] or La Nova Avantguarda[22], that still in the 1950s and 60s refused colour in order to declare their special resistance to certain processes of modernization that they did not receive too optimistically. We must be aware that Spain was still under a dictatorship at its colourful **TOURISTIC** propaganda boom.

From 1978 Regoyos frequented Brussels, where Verhaeren, Flemish, even though he always wrote in French, was already publishing poems and critical articles for the magazines *L'Art Moderne* and *La Jeune Belgique*[23]. The painter encouraged the poet to cross the Pyrenees in a moment of shared mourning, for the imminent death of Regoyos' mother and the passing away of the father of Verhaeren. It can be deduced that the motive of the trip originates from the fact that both wanted to forget their respective mournings in a moment of filial crisis. Verhaeren was also polishing the last poetry book of his 'black trilogy' illustrated by Odilon Redon. His reflections at the chronicle of the excursion are certainly lugubrious, and this was clearly driven by the way in which they travelled in which there is a whole resurrection of the nocturnal and funereal dimensions, evoked in a fantastic form. Writer and artist agreed to reach the towns and cities in the evening to abandon them the following day in the morning in order not to be disillusioned with what they had seen the day before 'in the dark and the twilight zone'. The engravings in boxwood that Regoyos made to accompany Verhaeren's text of abbreviated voice are expressionist and harsh, delving into this same idea of nocturnity. They stumbled along the roads, fleeing from the urban agglomerations to the most remote villages. The scenarios in which their journey developed were tortuous paths away from the 'modern

At dawn, the cathedral, still smoking, was more beautiful than ever. The open nave, full of ashes, was an iconoclastic monument to the cultural history of the West. A work of art is not a work of art if it cannot be destroyed, and therefore be fantasized and imagined —if it can't exist in the immaterial museum of longing and desire, if its loss doesn't justify intense grief. Why couldn't those who claim for reconstruction wait not even one second to mourn? Destroyers of the planet and annihilators of life, we prefer to build on our own ecological ruins. That's why we're afraid to look at Notre Dame ravaged. Against this Front of Builders, it is necessary to create a Front to Defend the Notre Dame of Ruins.

Notre Dame of the Rich, pray for us. Notre Dame of Rape, pray for us. Notre Dame of the Anthropocene, pray for us. Notre Dame of Capitalism, pray for us. Notre Dame of Patriarchy, pray for us. Notre Dame of **Tourism**, pray for us. Notre Dame of Tax Fraud, pray for us. Notre Dame of Political Corruption, pray for us. Notre Dame of Ecological Extinction, pray for us . . .

(Paul B. Preciado. *Notre Dame of Ruins*. ARTFORUM, https://www.artforum.com/slant/paul-b-preciado-on-the-notre-dame-fire-79492. Accessed 21st April 2020).

railway'. Soon they find what they were looking for: broken churches, bleeding effigies, mournings for the deceased, candles, harpies dressed in black, ancient popular passacaglias, bullfights, delirious processions, aurora rosaries, bats and black cats. They seeped into the funerals and listened to the songs of the faithful, which lasted for hours, like a mantra with a eurythmic organ. Regoyos tells how Verhaeren asked him to visit the cemeteries of all the towns and cities they travelled.

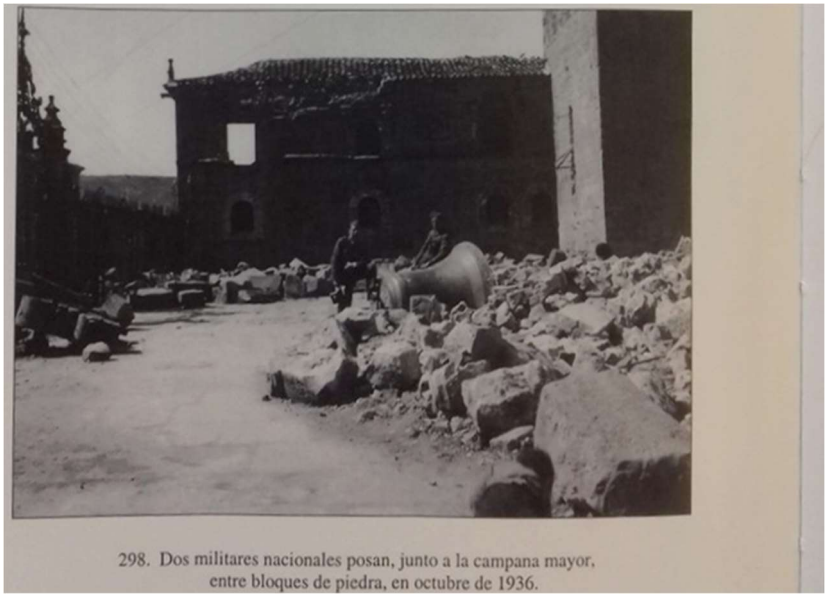
It is necessary to take into account that it was the ideal moment to put an aesthetic to the generalised pessimism that was being installed in the Spanish society at the end of the nineteenth century with the so-called ‘disasters of Cuba and the Philippines', the loss of its last colonies, among others. Belgium was also interested in unravelling, to puzzle out its own identity, as a country of very recent formation that was rethinking its national one.

In this way, they would see the Belgian Spanish colonial domination as an antecedent of their intentions of independence from the Dutch, but also like the painful origin of one of its differential features against ‘protestant’ neighbouring countries like Holland or France: the irrational devotion linked to the Catholic culture the Spanish brought to Belgium, looked upon with a mixture of fascination and rejection. ‘The Black Spain’ arose in its origins from the crossing of two looks, ‘the own’ and ‘the other’; not so much of their true memory as of their ghosts, assuming them as their own, vindicating them so as to exorcise them.

With *‘Duelo por la España Negra’* (Mourning for the Black Spain), what interests me is a review of this historical and artistic phenomenon from the point of view of psychology, both individual and collective. Darian Leader, in his book published in 2008, 'The New Black; Mourning, Melancholia, and Depression', asserts that today we accuse psychic discomfort to generalise it in the field of depression when in the past it was understood from the perspective of mourning and melancholy (Leader, 2008).

Regoyos and Verhaeren, with their journey through the so-called 'Black Spain', assumed a series of collective and personal mournings. In my **REENACTMENT** of their trip, alone I followed every site mentioned in their route. Together with my Super-8 camera, I first settled in the Basque city of San Sebastian for two and a half weeks to access from there all the other Basque enclaves appearing in the first three chapters of the book. Regoyos' mother had a flat in San Sebastian that in 1888 they used as a base camp in the first part of their journey. I was lucky to count on the generosity of a friend from Barcelona, Marc Vives and his partner Ane Aguirre, from San Sebastian, an artist and curator respectively, who allowed me to stay in their flat which was extremely close to both the city coach and train stations, with the agreement that I would feed their cat during the stay. From there I came to know and film Guetaria, Tolosa, Bergara, Loyola, Azpeitia and the Island of El Cabo Machichaco. I tried to find every described detail in their chronicle and surprisingly, a lot was still there. I felt amazed by the peculiarities of each site. In the failure of finding a single narrated image, I filmed what I found as its contemporary analogy and also had the space to film contributions to new elements in response to each place.

I counted on one film for each settlement, corresponding the approximate fifteen metre length of a Super-8 to about three minutes of duration. I used a Canon 814 Super-8 camera to capture images of three or five seconds which allowed me to include lots of visual information, like postcards in motion, collecting symptom imagery in excess. The choice of the analogue medium, apart from its obvious obsolete character according to that of the researched objects, provides a type of organic moving image that interests me for its visceral patina coming from chemical and non-electronic processing. To experience the media in the project result for me was as important as passing by my own foot every site featured in the book. At the same time, the Super-8 format refers to a contemporary nostalgia for the aesthetic intensity of the record itself but also for our emotional link with the images that have served as a portrait of the previous generation.



298. Dos militares nacionales posan, junto a la campana mayor, entre bloques de piedra, en octubre de 1936.

fig.2

Even though artistic **re-enactments** do not consist of mere repetition of events or actions, the element of repetition is present and plays an important role. It does so from a standpoint of a "theatrical" idea of history, as elaborated by Deleuze in Difference and Repetition, in which he considers repetition to form "a condition of movement under which something effectively new is produced in history.

(Edi Muka, 'Introduction', *TICA AIR LAB: Re-enactment as Artistic Strategy*, (Tirana: Institute of Contemporary Art's artist-in-residency program), #1, Spring-Autumn, 2013, 2-3 (pp.2-3))

With polished zinc etching plates as support, the project synthesises formally in three elements within the given space in order to function as a chronotope: the projection of Super-8 film with the record of my own path alone with the camera along each of the enclaves they visited in 1888; seven paintings from images found in different local archives in the same sites documenting the Spanish civil war and dictatorship ***figs.2,3 & 4***; and seven photo-etchings featuring their negative images.

I also could not escape filming the TV news from several bar screens more than once. There were two relevant strikes going on at the beginning of that summer in Barcelona with intermittent interruptions of public transport followed by reiterated complaints by part of the airport staff who finally found that cancelling flights was the only effective way to improve their labour conditions. At some point, I also followed a TV programme interviewing a group of tourists complaining about the amount of tourism. But all these several protests quickly became mere anecdotes when the Islamic terrorist attack took place at Las Ramblas, the most popular street in the city of Barcelona. Sixteen people of ten nationalities were killed and over 130 people from over 34 nations were injured, many critically.

Younes Abouyaaqoub, aged 22, drove a van into pedestrians along the most touristic city point with the intention to kill as many people as possible. After driving for approximately fifty seconds along the crowded pedestrian walkway, he stopped the van just on Joan Miro's colourful naïf emblematic pavement mosaic from where he jumped into the metro. He travelled unencumbered by public transport for twenty minutes to reach the stop of *Zona Universitaria*, where my parents actually live, and then proceeded to murder a man in his thirties working in an ONG, stole his car and started driving non-stop. The police found and killed him the following day on the motorway.

After the Basque Country, I headed to the cities of Pamplona and Tudela (Navarra) to

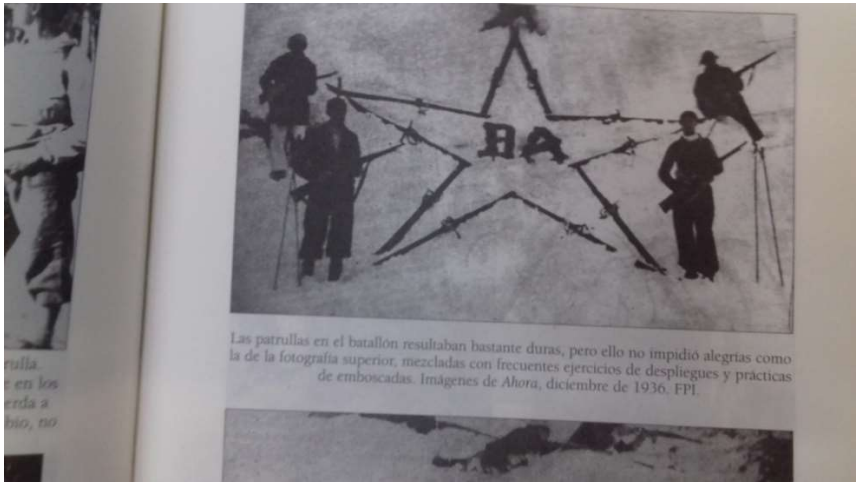


fig.3

fig.4

commence the fourth chapter of the book including Tarazona and Veruela (Aragon) too. The fifth chapter follows Zaragoza (Aragon), Siguenza (Guadalajara) and Madrid, the capital. The sixth and final chapter features The Monastery of El Escorial and its Guadarrama Mountain Range. The publication contains a conclusion in which they visited the cities of Ávila and Burgos (Castilla y Leon), where the painter and poet separated. Yet, Regoyos, and me, still decided to reach alone the tiny forgotten village of San Vicente de la Sonsierra (La Rioja) to coincide with the most peculiar procession known as 'Los Picaos', a Catholic penance now only professed in this vicinity and consisting in the simultaneous self-flagellation of the back by a group of men as they slowly advance in silence along the streets marking their path with blood remains after them as an act of faith.

While I could speak at length about each of the places featured in the book because I have been there, what impressed me most - as in my trips back from the Championships - was the precious dismal Monastery of El Escorial and its Guadarrama Range. When Regoyos and Verhaeren passed by Guadarrama, they mentioned the rare granite stone formations looking like fantastic animals through the shadows. In more recent times, since 1958, they coexist with 'The Valley of The Fallen' that my parents skipped on one of our journeys. This is how, finally, I came to visit it, easily reaching the destination by a touristic bus from the monastery, for the first and the last time. Now I have it carefully recorded. Paradoxically, and frankly without planning for this synchronicity, it was on the 4th of November 2017, the very same day that about 35,000 people demonstrated in Catalonia against the actions of the state in imprisoning voted pro-independence government ministers for organising a pacific referendum in October the same year. Meaning that while receiving WhatsApp messages with images from the demonstration (from friends that may not necessarily be independentists but stand for basic democratic foundations), I was answering these alone at the Valley of The Fallen, while filming it closely.

But what scared me most were the fresh red carnations that mark the grief for Franco: it seems

somebody still changes them every day and I suspect it must be the same people running the house. His and Primo de Rivera's (Franco's main elder inspiration) have the two only recognisable tombs, all the other bodies remain anonymous within endless underground mass graves that nobody can access. Leaving Guadarrama on my way to Avila, groups of granite stones made me clearly recognise an eagle and a dromedary.

ENDNOTES

1. *Comunidad Autonoma* - Spain is divided into seventeen Autonomous Communities as a result of a first-level political and administrative division created in accordance with the Spanish Constitution of 1978, opposed to the centralist idea of Spain under the dictatorship. Their aim is guaranteeing limited autonomy of the nationalities and regions that make up Spain with common historical and cultural characteristics, and which should have exclusive competencies and the faculty to self-administer themselves through their own reps. Their level of autonomy and the interpretation of the Constitution depends on the party ruling the country's central power.

2. El Greco - Nickname of Doménikos Theotokópoulos (1541-1614), painter, sculptor, and architect of the Spanish Renaissance. It refers to his Greek origin; he used to sign his paintings with his full birth name in Greek letters, Δομήνικος Θεοτοκόπουλος, often adding the word Κρής Krēs, Cretan. Born in the Kingdom of Candia, which was at that time part of the Republic of Venice, and the centre of post-Byzantine art. In 1577, he moved to Toledo, Spain, where he lived until his death. His dramatic and expressionistic style was met with puzzlement by his contemporaries but found appreciation in the 20th century, known for his tortuously elongated figures and often fantastic or phantasmagorical pigmentation, marrying Byzantine traditions with those of Western painting.

3. The Burial of the Count of Orgaz, 1588 - Monumental iconic painting by El Greco, oil on canvas, 480 x 360cm., located at the burial chapel of Don Gonzalo Ruiz Count of Ordaz, at the Santo Tomé Church in Toledo. It illustrates a popular local legend. In 1312, a certain Don Gonzalo Ruíz, a native of Toledo, and Señor of the town of Orgaz died; he was a pious man who, among other charitable acts, left money for the enlargement and adornment of the church of Santo Tomé (El Greco's parish church). At his burial, Saint Stephen and Saint Augustine intervened to lay him to rest. The occasion for the commission of the painting for the chapel in which the *Señor* was buried, was the resumption of the tribute payable to the church by the town of Orgaz, which had been withheld for over two centuries. It remains in the chapel -the actual scene of the event- for which it was ordered. Already in 1588, people flocked to see the painting. This immediate popular reception depended, however, on the 'life-like portrayal of the notable men of Toledo of the time'. It was the custom for the eminent and noblemen of the town to assist at the burial of the high-born, and it was stipulated in the contract that the scene should be represented in this way. Andrés Núñez, the parish priest and a friend of El Greco, who was responsible for the commission, is certainly the figure on the extreme right. The artist himself can be recognized in the *caballero* third from the left, immediately above the head of Saint Stephen. The artist's son acts like a young page. The boy points to the body of the deceased, bringing together birth and death. Divided into two zones, the heavenly above and the terrestrial below, there is little feeling of duality as the upper and lower zones are brought together compositionally. The grand circular mandorla-like pattern of the two Saints descended from Heaven echoes the pattern formed by the Virgin and Saint John the Baptist, and the action is given explicit expression. The point of equilibrium is the outstretched hand poised in the void between the two Saints, whence the mortal body descends, and the Soul, in the medieval form of a transparent and naked child, is taken up by the angel to be received in Heaven. The powerful cumulative emotion expressed by the group of participants is suffused and sustained through the composition by the splendour, variety, and vitality of the colour and of light. This is the first completely personal work by the artist from where his process of dematerialization and spiritualization continues.

4. Monastery of El Escorial - Located in the heart of the Guadarrama Range, just 50 kilometres from Madrid, San Lorenzo de El Escorial is one of the municipalities of the greatest tourist and in the region. Its main attraction is its El Escorial Monastery and Royal Site, which was declared to be a UNESCO Heritage Site in 1984. Felipe II, affected by the death of his father (Carlos I of Spain born in Ghent, and also Carlos V of The Holy Roman Empire) in 1558, ordered to consolidate the House of Austria in Spain as the most important centre of political power in all of Europe at that time. Felipe II himself ordered the construction of the Monastery (1563-1584), to ensure the eternal memory of his family, created a family Pantheon and offset the destruction of a church devoted to San Lorenzo (St Lawrence) during the battle of San Quintín in France. It was built on a plan in the form of a grill, the instrument of the martyrdom of St Lawrence. Its crowning achievement of Herrerian architecture became a model for many later Spanish and European constructions. The only site of this kind in the world, it brings together church, palace, monastery, and royal pantheon.

5. El Valle de los Caídos (The Valley of the Fallen) - also located on the Guadarrama Range, only some eight miles north of San Lorenzo de El Escorial. The complex was built between 1940 and 1958 as a monument intended to commemorate all those who died during the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). The bones of about 40,000 Republican and Nationalist soldiers are buried there in gigantic communal grief inside its endless crypt. However, the Valley of the Fallen is inevitably associated with Franco's regime since the whole thing was his idea and only him and the like-minded Falangist leader Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera had the honour of individual burial inside the church itself. The Republican guerrillas, if captured, took part in the building of this monument as prisoners-of-war; the dictatorial regime offered to reduce the sentence of every Republican convict who volunteered to join a work detail, though allegations persist of wholesale forced labour. It was visited by about 450,000 people in 2005.

> The Civil War was not long over and WWII was well underway when the Generalissimo commissioned what he called 'a national act of atonement'. Designers Pedro Muguruza and Diego Mendez were ordered to create a quasi-mythic space that would resonate with 'the grandeur of monuments of old, which defy time and memory'. They revived the sepulchral style of 16th-century Spanish architect Juan de Herrera, while the centrepiece resembles the ancient rock crosses raised by early Christians around Kerala in the first century A.D. But driving up from the main gate, along the winding access road that leads through thick pine forest and over worn stone bridges, the complex comes to look like something even older and weirder. A Mayan temple, maybe. A Babylonian ziggurat. A mountain altar for arcane rituals, or human sacrifices.
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> (Phelan, Stephen, 2017. Valley of the Fallen: Inside Spain's Most Controversial Visitor Site. https://www.independent.co.uk/travel/europe/general-franco-grave-valley-tourist-holiday-site-fallen-spain-fascist-dictator-spanish-civil-war-madrid-sierra-de-guadarrama-a7652841.html. Accessed 19th March 2019).

6. According to EpData.es. *Listado enterrados Valle de los Caídos*. <https://www.epdata.es/datos/listado-enterrados-valle-caidos/137> [Accessed 30 July 2022]

6. El Monasterio de Piedra (The Stone Monastery) - Natural Park between Madrid and Barcelona on the Iberian System Mountain ranges, near Nuévalos, province of Zaragoza, Aragon, Spain. Historically, a defensive fort built by the Moors; when it was conquered by Alfonso II of Aragon in 1194, the whole area was given to Cistercian monks to build a monastery, also constructed for defensive strength still in an area heavily populated by Muslims and to establish the Christian faith. It was dedicated to Santa María la Blanca (St. Mary the White). Since the Muslim era, there were abundant irrigation systems, canals, ditches, and castles. Followers of Islam sought to establish their cities on the rivers banks because their economy was based on agriculture, which was performed through labouring irrigated lands. This is why they chose to live on low lands and did not effectively occupy the higher areas of the Pyrenees. This is also the reason why the noble and Christian clergy, who would be the most likely to suffer because of the arrival of Islam, had to settle on the northern regions of the Iberian Peninsula, where they began to set up their churches.

In the middle of the 19th century, the medieval monastery and the vegetable garden were bought by Pablo Muntadas. The monastery was adapted as a first-class hotel and the vegetable garden was transformed into space with an exceptional landscape of waterfalls, lakes, caves, and nature, a scenery made up of lush vegetation and fascinating rock formations created by the erosive action of the Rio Piedra. On February 16, 1983, the entire complex was declared a national monument.

7. La Ciudad Encantada (The Enchanted City) - Natural Park situated in Cuenca, in a canyon almost 1,500 metres above sea level. Characterised by its curious rock formations, sculpted over centuries by the action of ice, wind, and water on this rare geological phenomenon. The route around it is way-marked and many of the rock formations have signs with the names of the figures they resemble. Visitors will soon recognise these: The Boats, The Dog, The Sea of Stone, The Roman Bridge, The Seal, The Slide, The Lovers of Teruel, The Convent, The Turtle, etc. The reason behind the existence of all these fanciful shapes is the different hardness and composition of the rocks. At the top, there is Magnesian limestone, grey and more resistant to erosion than the one below, which has a reddish tone. The lower part erodes faster than the upper part, creating shelters and cornices. It dates back to ninety million years ago when The Enchanted City was part of a seabed of Thetis. It was quiet waters, which led to the deposition of salts, especially calcium

carbonate. At the end of the Cretaceous, as a result of the Alpine orogeny, the sea retreated and a seabed composed of limestone surfaced. All these modelled stone figures that spark the visitors' imagination.

8. The Club - Club Natació Kallipolis (Kallipolis Swimming Club). Founded in 1968, the first one in Spain to start training synchronised swimming.

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9. Shazam - Google Play Shazman is one of the most popular apps free on Apple and Android devices, and used by more than a hundred million people per month to recognise music and obtain its lyrics.

10. Prosper Merimeé (Paris, 1803- Cannes, 1870) - French dramatist, historian, archaeologist, and master of the short story whose works were a renewal of Classicism in a Romantic age. Of a cultured, middle-class Norman background, Mérimée first studied law but was more devoted to learning the Greek, Spanish, English, and Russian languages and their literatures. His passions were mysticism, history, and the unusual. Inspired by the vogue for historical fiction, Mérimée's short stories best illustrate his imagination and sombre temperament; many are mysteries, of foreign inspiration and local colour. Spain and Russia were his principal literary sources; he was the first interpreter of Russian literature in France. Pushkin was his master, especially for his themes of violence and cruelty and the human psychology behind them. Although he shared some traits with the other French romantics -a love of the exotic and the violent, for instance- his sceptical, pessimistic temperament kept him from their emotional excesses. He hid his emotional sensitivity beneath a cover of ironic objectivity. As restraint and ironic objectivity were among the principal goals of the later French realists, he stands as their precursor.

In 1831, he was appointed inspector general of historical monuments. As he was a long-time friend of the Countess of Montijo whom he met in Spain in 1830, in 1853, when her daughter became the empress Eugénie of France, Mérimée was admitted to the royal circle and made a senator. He was not fond of Napoleon III, however, and never became a wholehearted courtier.

11. Aleksandr Pushkin's narrative poem 'The Gipsies'- Anti-Romantic tale of a city-dweller whose search for 'unspoiled' values among gypsies ends in tragedy, is modern Russian literature's first masterpiece.

Originally written in Russian in 1824. It is the last of Pushkin's four 'Southern Poems' written during his exile in the south of the Russian Empire. It is also considered to be the most mature of these Southern poems and has been praised for originality and its engagement with psychological and moral issues. John Bayley argues that The Gypsies "shows the problem of a poet as naturally classical as Pushkin in an epoch fashionably and self-consciously romantic.". Boris Gasparov estimates that The Gypsies has inspired some eighteen operas and half a dozen ballets, including Sergei Rachmaninoff's Aleko (1893), Bizet's Carmen (1875), Ruggero Leoncavallo's Zingari (1912), and Vasily Kalafati's Gypsies (1941). It referred to groups of gypsies in Bessarabia which today is mostly (approx. 65%) part of modern-day Moldova, with the Ukrainian Budjak region covering the southern coastal region and part of the Ukrainian Chernivtsi Oblast covering a small area in the north.

12. Zuniga - officer of the guard, Zuniga commands Don Jose to escort Carmen to prison when he learns that Carmen has attacked a woman with a knife at the tobacco factory.

13. Paris Opéra Comique - As Lesley A. Wright points out (at 'Carmen and the *Opera-Comique*'*), that The *Opera-Comique* must be understood both as institution and genre. As an institution, it was created in 1806 and authorised by imperial decrees in 1807 along with three other grands theatres; The Odeon, the *Grand Opera* and the *Comedie-Francaise*. Its activities were controlled by its state subsidy and censorship; it would consist in French works only, spoken comedies or dramas mixed with sung *couplets, ariettes* and ensembles. It closed during the Franco-Prussian War and *La Commune*, like other theatres in Paris, and did not reopen until July 1871 when it presented *Le Domino noir* as a tribute to Auber, who had died that May. It is characterised by relatively limited dialogues and a more prominent chorus.

In 1872, when Georges Bizet received the commission that would result in the composition of Carmen, there were two subsidised opera houses operating in Paris: The Grand Opéra and the Opéra-Comique. Each theatre staged works stemming from a specific operatic tradition and catering to a specific audience. The Opéra presented French grand opera and attracted the upper class; the Opéra-Comique drew members of the middle class and presented lighter works, loosely referred to as 'opéras comiques'. It was at the Opéra-Comique that the premiere of Bizet's Carmen took place, and this opera should be viewed as participating, not always comfortably, within the parameters of the tradition of opéra comique.

At the very time, the Opéra-Comique demanded works that were increasingly conservative to match the growing conservatism of their audiences. By the 1850s the opéra comique tradition had lost much of its satirical nature and was considered 'family entertainment' with rather rigid conventions of its own. The darkening mood of Carmen's last two acts leads to an ending as tragic as in *grand opera* (moving away from *Opera Comique*), though transposed to a seamer part of society. Some felt that Bizet had erred in choosing a subject that belonged elsewhere. They complained that the characters and situations introduced the mores of the street, of the underclass or, more specifically, of Belleville, a working-class quartier that had also been a major centre of *La Commune* uprising, to a theatre and genre identified with 'sweet, proper sentiments and situations'. Jules Guillemot (Le Soleil,9th March) even liked Carmen's plot to a newspaper report: 'Yesterday the residents of Rue Oberkampf were deeply upset by a murder scene: Mr. J…, sergeant of the 102nd Infantry, met the young woman C…, and after a heated exchange of words, he plunged a knife into her heart: death was instantaneous (…).'

14. Pedro G. Romero (Aracena, Huelva, 1964 - lives and works in Seville) - A highly versatile artist working intensively in many disciplines: as a conceptual sculptor and painter, performer, dramatist and scriptwriter, among others. Besides being a critic of both art and literature, publisher, essayist, expert in flamenco and manager of the dancer Israel Galvan. His works are characterised by a radical stance in contrast to the hegemonic narratives of history, his central theme is a reflection on, and investigation into, the concept of the image as a point of resistance to time, whether it be historical, biological or psychological time. His works also betray a constant preoccupation with the disappearance of authorship. Since 2000 he has been working on the projects of Archivo F.X. and Máquina P.H. which take as their working material anti-clerical political iconoclasm and flamenco, respectively, which he puts in relation with the Avant-gardes.

His work is to be found in collections such as that of MACBA, of the Fundació La Caixa, the Reina Sofía National Art Museum, the Alava Museum of Fine Arts, the Diputación de Granada and the Andalusia Centre for Contemporary Art.

15. Spanish Peninsular War - Spanish 'Guerra de la Independencia' (War of Independence), (1808–14). Part of the Napoleonic Wars fought in the Iberian Peninsula, where the French were opposed by British, Spanish, and Portuguese forces. Napoleon's peninsula struggle contributed considerably to his eventual downfall; but until 1813 the conflict in Spain and Portugal, though costly, exercised only an indirect effect upon the progress of French affairs in central and Eastern Europe. It was the first large-scale guerrilla war, from which the English language borrowed the word. Reported as a war of infinite cruelty. Francisco de Goya witnessed first-hand the French occupation of Spain in 1808 when Napoleon used the pretext of reinforcing his army in Portugal to seize the Spanish throne, leaving his brother Joseph in power. Attempts to remove members of the Spanish royal family from Madrid provoked a widespread rebellion. This popular uprising occurred between the second and third of May 1808, when suppressed by forces under Maréchal Joachim Murat. Goya's painting 'The Second of May' (which is the companion of the better known 'The Second of May', both from 1808) depicts the beginning of the uprising when the Mamelukes of the French Imperial Guard are ordered to charge and subdue the rioting citizens. The crowd sees the Mamelukes as Moors, provoking an angry response. Instead of dispersing, the crowd turned on the charging Mamelukes, resulting in a ferocious melee. Goya was probably not present during the actual Charge of the Mamelukes. His supposed presence was first suggested in a book published 40 years after his death, reporting on conversations the author claimed to have had with Goya's gardener. His paintings

were commissioned in 1814, after the expulsion of Napoleon's army from Spain, by the council governing Spain until the return of Ferdinand VII. He chose to portray the citizens of Madrid as unknown heroes using the crudest of weapons, such as knives, to attack a professional, occupying army. That did not please the king when he returned, so the paintings were not hung publicly until many years (and governments) later.

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16. Theophile Gautier - In 1840, the French novelist Theophile Gautier was hired by the journal 'La Presse' to write regular instalments of a travelogue of his journey to and around Spain. Gautier recorded his experiences and impressions and the result was the 1845 book 'Voyage en Espagne' - later translated into English as 'A Romantic in Spain'. For Gautier, Spain promised the allure of an exotic and passionate culture; it was a revelation, he said later, like discovering his true home, the native land of his spirit. Gautier covered the olive groves of Andalucía, the vibrant street life of Madrid, the central plains of La Mancha, and the Moorish buildings of Seville and Cordova. Travelling by mule, carriage, or wagon, came into contact with a rich panoply of people and places. Gautier reveals a Spain in transition, emerging from civil war and a feudal past into the modern world.

17. *L'Essor* and Les Vingt - L'Essor was created in 1876 within the 'Circle of alumni and students of the Academies of Fine Arts in Brussels'. The circle changed its name to L'Essor in November 1879 and no longer has any link with the Academy. The founders are seen as progressive and want to rebel against bourgeois and conservative Literary and Artistic Circles of Brussels. The translation of their motto was 'a unique art, one life', and therefore focuses on the relationship that should unite Art and Life.
In 1883, a few artists left the movement after a disagreement in order to create a new artistic group Les XX. This dissatisfaction has come primarily from the fact that l'Essor had no real program and welcomed both realistic and traditional artists, rather than avant-garde. Les Vingt, The Twenty in English, or The Society of the Twenty, was a group of artists who exhibited together in Belgium during the years 1891–93, having been brought together by a common interest in Symbolist painting. Like their French and German contemporaries, these painters, who were centred on Brussels, had shifted the emphasis in their works from the world of daily life outside the artist, which the Impressionists had caught, to the inner life, a world that celebrated mystery, allusion, and symbol. Belgian Symbolist painting employed simplified forms, heavy outlines, subjective use of colour, and a heightened spiritual content inspired by religious, exotic, and primitive cultures. These techniques were demonstrated in the paintings and graphics of James Ensor, Jan Toorop, and Henry van de Velde, all members of Les Vingt.

18. L'Art Moderne - Belgian art journal founded by Edmond Picard, together with Victor Arnould and Eugène Robert in March 1881. The journal was a proponent of social realism and coined the term art nouveau in 1884 as a reaction to academic art tendencies in the decorative arts. Picard was joined by Camille Lemonnier, Émile Verhaeren, and Georges Rodenbach. The board of editors would meet in Brussels, in the Hôtel de la Toison d'Or where Camille Lemonnier would meet Constantin Meunier, who was to become the illustrator of his works.

19. La Luz - a magazine published between 1897 and 1898, founded by the writer Josep Maria Roviralta i Borrell, and the painter Darío de Regoyos. Roviralta that, despite its short life, had a high influence in Catalan ideology at the end of the XIX century. From its beginnings, it was linked to the modernist movement and to Symbolism and Decadentism in its second stage. Its constant confrontation with the 'Magazine Catalonia', known for its strong ideological and political Catalanism. Even its Spanish title, 'La Luz' had a fundamental role inside the intellectual and literary Catalan movements at the very end of the XIX century.

20. Grupo El Paso - started in Madrid in 1957, the group was formed by artists like Antonio Saura, Rafael Canogar or Juana Francés, among others, along with art critics Manuel Conde and José Ayllón signed a manifesto that defined their activity. The group was not homogenous, as the members had very different careers and styles, although they shared influences and read similar material, which each interpreted in their own way. They felt that contemporary Spanish painting had stagnated in the post-war era and was in need of renewed drive. Many years had gone by since the Civil War had ended, but the Franco dictatorship was ruling the country and until the early '50s Spain was still under international isolation, as the state was related in its policies to the "axis of evil" during World War II. This led Spain to an autarky that was over thanks to an alliance with the United States against the Soviet Union. Spain had a key geographical location and thus, it was a strategic point during the Cold War. No wonder that some young artists, tired of this situation of cultural poverty, joined to reinvigorate it. While most of these artists focused on abstraction, they all rejected the labels imposed and the use of terms such as conceptual, constructivism, expressionism. Thus, it mainly became synonymous with unconformity, break through and rebellion. The common nexus between them was the importance of the gesture and the stroke and the voluntary reduction of the usage of colours to a minimum. It is also important to note that for this group the historical value of the country was critical and they all raised a remodelling of the art scene based in tradition. This way, we can see how rough materials such as iron, burlap, chicken wire, sand or paint impasto reflect despair, aggression or loneliness, the heritage of Goya's darkest Spain. While its informality was the point of attachment, they never made an explicit critique of the political regime and, since they didn't pose a threat to the government, they became the great ambassadors of the Spanish culture of the moment. Like many artists of the time, the components of El Paso developed their creativity blindly at a time when the transition to modernity seemed to never come.

21. Afal - The Afal photographic collective brought together a group of young Spanish photographers through an eponymous magazine, published between 1956 and 1963. The concept of the project, the brainchild of Almería natives José María Artero García and Carlos Pérez Siquier, was open to new viewpoints, differing from those excluded from the official or salonista photography, the latter a term used by Oriol Maspons to refer to the restrictive nature of juries in photography awards. Afal would employ Neo-realist photography, highlighting the contradictions of the 1950s and 1960s Spanish society: underdevelopment, rural exodus, the influence of religion on education and public life, the birth of tourism, these were some of the themes to spark the group's interest in different series and reportage.

22. La Nova Avantgarda - Catalan photographic movement from the 50s and the 60s. In the early 50s, photography associations and competitions were the stronghold of a type of practice falling into decline in both Catalonia and Spain. However, it was precisely in these hubs that a new generation of photographers emerged reclaiming a different way of approaching photography as a new medium of expression. The political situation, with the isolated post-war Franco dictatorship (which only began to establish relations with foreign countries from the 1950s onwards), allowed photographic associations, always limited to photography, the privilege of being one of the few centres of self-ran civil joinism, given the submissive acceptance of retrograde artistic postulates. They had the power to inform themselves about the most important trends in photography on the international scene. This contact came about through publications and the relationships formed with different European collectives. In Spain, the impulse came from 'Almeria's AFAL Group' which succeeded in uniting photographers from across the peninsula. The other two centres of this enthusiastic movement were in Madrid, with the group 'La Palangana', which oddly enough counted Catalans Ontañon and Masats among its members, and Barcelona, represented by the group of photographers to which we refer as ´La Nova Avantgarda'.

In any case, all of them shared a passion for photography and a certain pride in belonging to this discipline. Even in their different approaches, they had a ludic and critical view of the medium (and life) that became their true distinguishing stamp. Against the official dogmas and in an apparently contradictory way, abstract art (with groups such as El Paso) and neorealism, formal experimentation and social document, were emerging from the post-war cultural scene.

23. La Jeune Belgique - (The Young Belgium), Belgian French-language literary and arts influential review (1881–97), edited by poet and novelist Max Waller; it gave its name to a literary movement (though never a formal "school") that aimed to express a genuinely Belgian consciousness and to free the literature of Belgium from outworn Romanticism. Among writers associated with the movement were Maurice Maeterlinck, Émile Verhaeren, and Max Elskamp—all poets of international stature.

It was inspired by Parnassianism and modelled on La Jeune France; Parnassianism was a literary style characteristic of certain French poetry during the positivist period of the 19th century, occurring between romanticism and symbolism. The name is derived from the original Parnassian poets' journal, Le Parnasse contemporain, itself named after Mount Parnassus, home of the Muses in Greek mythology. The anthology was issued from 1866 to 1876. They were influenced by Théophile Gautier and his doctrine of art for art's sake. In reaction to the looser forms of romantic poetry, and what they saw as excessive sentimentality and undue social and political activism in Romantic works, the Parnassians strove for exact and faultless workmanship, selecting exotic and classical subjects which they treated with the rigidity of form and emotional detachment. Elements of this detachment were derived from the philosophical work of Arthur Schopenhauer.

fig.5

REHEARSAL FOR DEEP SONG

Chapter II: On ***Deep Song***, Martha Graham, New York, 1937

Group of 8 of oil paintings on canvas strips of 25cm x 10m./ Wood bench of 50cm high, 30cm wide and 2,20m long / Book of 96 pages and 25 x 30cm. (edition of 400) / Video of 14'32''

Project presented at Centro Federico Garcia Lorca, Granada, March - May 2022

Deep Song

Rehearsal for Deep Song recreates Martha Graham's choreographic piece *Deep Song*, the last dance that she performed alone in 1937 before starting larger-scale productions with the dancers she trained herself at her school. *Deep Song* would be, thus, the last of her solos after other milestones such as *Lamentation* (1930)[1], *Frontier* (1935), *Chronicle* (1936)[2], or *Immediate Tragedy*[3] (1937), with all of which she would contribute to forge the foundations of modern dance. *Deep Song*, like *Immediate Tragedy*, was Graham's response to those Spanish Civil War startling pictures that reached the US through different media. She conceived its choreography performing a sequence of still images that documented the pain suffered by the civilians in The Spanish Civil War. Graham, who paid special attention to her readings when composing her pieces, probably entitled it in reference to Federico García Lorca's *Poema del Cante Jondo*[4] ***fig.1***., published in Madrid in 1931 during the Spanish Republic before the war. The book translates into English as *Poem of Deep Song.*

The essay I bring forward for this chapter has triggered an intense process of preparation, especially, in all that concerns the field of pictorial research. It focuses on the analytical study, through pictorial mimesis, of the sequence of movements proposed by Graham in her dance in order to deal with the Spanish conflict and that make up the almost five-minute choreographic

In this chapter there are images of various archival material collected along the research implicit in this second part and project of this MPhil. There are also pictures taken at the studio where I developed the work. These images complement my narration. At the end, there is a view of the project installation.

fig.1

piece. Formally, I have been working with oil paint on long strips of canvas designed and prepared to represent sequences of movement in an exercise similar to stop-motion, a creative process based on an expanded concept of the idea of the historical frieze.

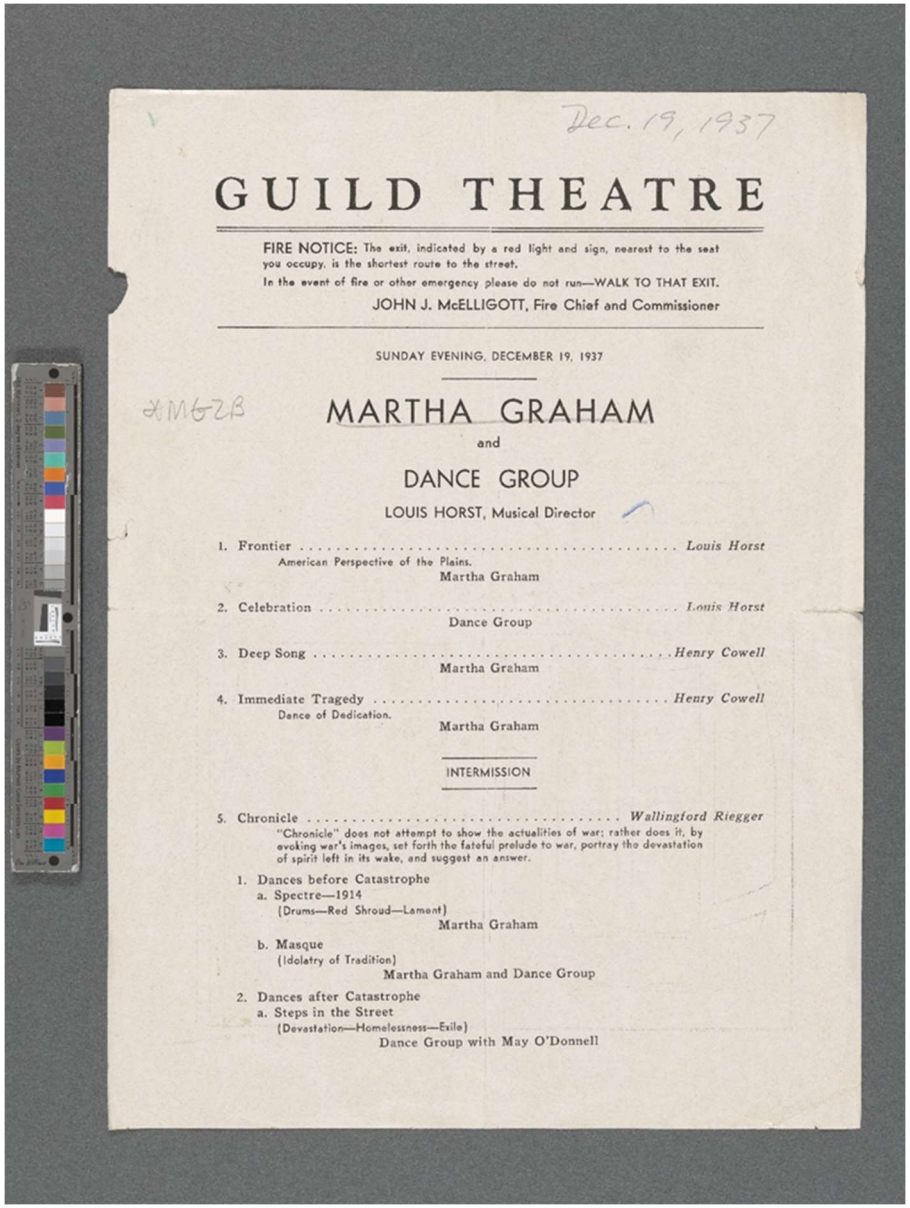
> "Every dance is… a kind of fever chart, a graph of the heart,'' Martha would say. Deep Song was that graph.
>
> (Ernestine Stodelle. Deep Song: Dance Story of Martha Graham. New York: Schirmer Books, 1984, p.100)

Deep Song premiered along with *Immediate Tragedy*, in a double feature that took place on the 19th and 26th of December 1937 at the Guild Theater in New York, with music by Henry Cowell interpreted by Louis Horst (Graham's musical conductor)[5] ***fig2***. As I will explain later, Cowell was actually in jail at the time. Graham, not only designs the choreography, but also the set with the use of a single wooden bench. The dress is the result of her collaboration with Edythe Gilfond, a black and white striped costume giving resonance to Picasso's Guernica, which had been presented in Paris five months before.[6]

***

The historical context of Graham's choreographic flourish coincides with the rise of fascism, first in Spain, and then throughout the Second World War and the post-war period that links up with the Cold War: years marked by economic austerity, fear and by the sensation, in the US, of collective psychological anxiety, and what will later result in the beginning of the extreme consumerism of the post-war years. Through her work, Graham would express her commitment to anti-fascism before and during the war. Later, she would make explicit her involvement with psychoanalysis.

Although Graham did not allow the discussion of politics or religion in her studio, in 1935, she decisively burst onto the political scene by refusing the invitation to participate in the



Dec. 19, 1937

GUILD THEATRE

FIRE NOTICE: The exit, indicated by a red light and sign, nearest to the seat you occupy, is the shortest route to the street.
In the event of fire or other emergency please do not run—WALK TO THAT EXIT.
JOHN J. McELLIGOTT, Fire Chief and Commissioner

SUNDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 19, 1937

MARTHA GRAHAM
and
DANCE GROUP
LOUIS HORST, Musical Director

1. Frontier ..... *Louis Horst*
American Perspective of the Plains.
Martha Graham

2. Celebration ..... *Louis Horst*
Dance Group

3. Deep Song ..... *Henry Cowell*
Martha Graham

4. Immediate Tragedy ..... *Henry Cowell*
Dance of Dedication.
Martha Graham

INTERMISSION

5. Chronicle ..... *Wallingford Riegger*
"Chronicle" does not attempt to show the actualities of war; rather does it, by evoking war's images, set forth the fateful prelude to war, portray the devastation of spirit left in its wake, and suggest an answer.
1. Dances before Catastrophe
a. Spectre—1914
(Drums—Red Shroud—Lament)
Martha Graham
b. Masque
(Idolatry of Tradition)
Martha Graham and Dance Group
2. Dances after Catastrophe
a. Steps in the Street
(Devastation—Homelessness—Exile)
Dance Group with May O'Donnell

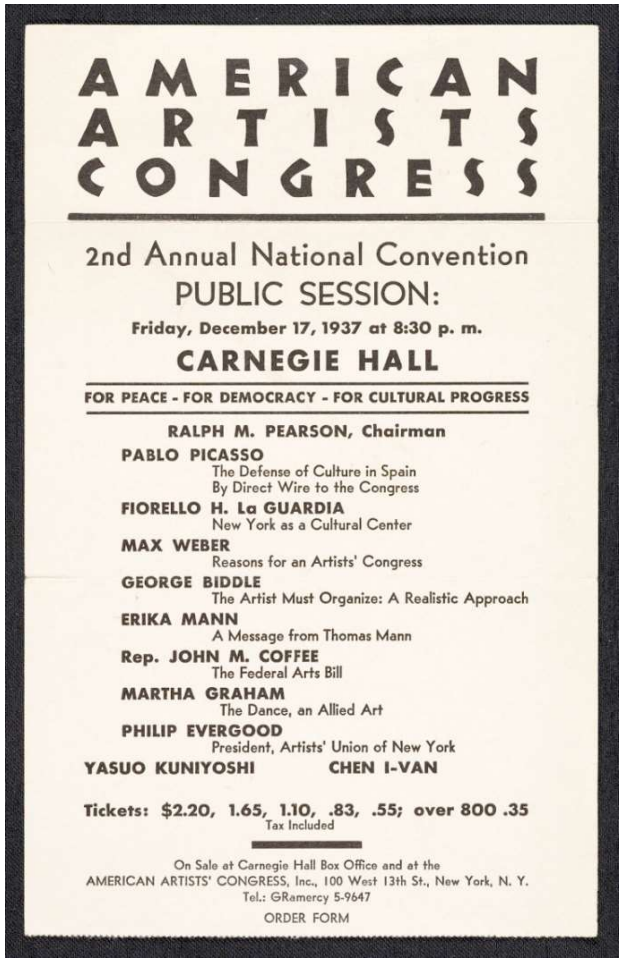
fig.2

International Dance Festival of the Berlin Olympic Games[7]. At the same time that the German government warned her that a second-rate ballet would represent her country, she publicly announced the rejection of the invitation. No American dance company went to the festival. Her choreographies were immediately identified with the Popular Front, which welcomed a cultural climate receptive to aesthetic innovation and even considered abstraction as part of the anti-fascist cause, something that Graham could feel comfortable embracing.

> "Overseas in Spain the tragedy of the Civil War provoked an immediate reaction to American artists. We decided to respond to the horror of it in our own way. I chose *Deep Song*, which was a solo like *Lamentation*, but used the bank in a more active way. The scene began with me on the empty stage, in a black and white striped dress and cloths as the music of Henry Cowell began to play. This was in December 1937."
>
> (Martha Graham, Blood Memory. New York: Doubleday, 1991. Pp.152,153)

Deep Song, a painful plea, a kind of *cante jondo*[8], was not considered part of a much more far-reaching initiative until Delfín Colomé detected, for the realisation of his book *The Spanish Civil War in Modern Dance* (Colomé, 2010), twenty choreographies of different authorship, based on the horrors of what was happening in Spain, and that premiered between 1937 and 1939[9].

Two nights before Deep Song's premiere, Graham addressed the second annual convention of the Congress of American Artists at Carnegie Hall, calling for a cease-fire in Spain. Erika Mann read a message from Thomas Mann, and Pablo Picasso spoke to the assembled through the telephone ***fig3*** . Shortly after, a collective performance was given—along with Anna Sokolow, Helen Tamiris, Anaya Holm, Paul Draper, The Ballet Caravan and Arthur Mahoney—entitled *Dance for Spain*, at the NY Hippodrome for the benefit of the Medical Bureau & North American Committee to Aid the Spanish Democracy, sponsored by the American Dance Association. In December 1939, there was another performance at the New York Mecca Temple organised by the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign to benefit the Dorothy Parker Spanish Refugee Children's


AMERICAN ARTISTS CONGRESS

2nd Annual National Convention
PUBLIC SESSION:
Friday, December 17, 1937 at 8:30 p. m.
CARNEGIE HALL
FOR PEACE - FOR DEMOCRACY - FOR CULTURAL PROGRESS

RALPH M. PEARSON, Chairman
PABLO PICASSO
The Defense of Culture in Spain
By Direct Wire to the Congress
FIORELLO H. La GUARDIA
New York as a Cultural Center
MAX WEBER
Reasons for an Artists' Congress
GEORGE BIDDLE
The Artist Must Organize: A Realistic Approach
ERIKA MANN
A Message from Thomas Mann
Rep. JOHN M. COFFEE
The Federal Arts Bill
MARTHA GRAHAM
The Dance, an Allied Art
PHILIP EVERGOOD
President, Artists' Union of New York
YASUO KUNIYOSHI CHEN I-VAN

Tickets: $2.20, 1.65, 1.10, .83, .55; over 800 .35
Tax Included

On Sale at Carnegie Hall Box Office and at the
AMERICAN ARTISTS' CONGRESS, Inc., 100 West 13th St., New York, N. Y.
Tel.: GRamercy 5-9647
ORDER FORM

fig.3

Fund. At that time, the Spanish Civil War had already ended, but the Second World War was about to start.

Martha Graham stopped dancing *Deep Song* in the beginning of the 1940s and the dance was never filmed. It was not until 1988, when she was 94 years old, that worked together with her first dancer Terese Capucilli on the re-enactment of the piece using a hundred photographs by Barbara Morgan as a reference. Part of these photographs were published in 1941 in Morgan's photo-book 'Martha Graham: Sixteen Dances in Photographs', in close collaboration with Graham[10]. Morgan edited the pages of the book as photo-collages ***fig4***. These photographs, had been the only documentation of the original dance until some years ago, about 2018 according to Capucilli, Douglas Fraser contacted Martha Graham Dance Company to tell them that his father, a photographer, was seated in the front row at the premiere of Deep Song in 1937, the second time that Graham performed Immediate Tragedy. Now, the Company, also takes in consideration Fraser's reels in new danced re-enactments of *Deep Song* and *Immediate Tragedy*[3].

Throughout the process of creation of this project, I had the opportunity of getting in touch with Terese, who has always very kindly answered all my questions and especially the ones I did her in an interview on the 26th of September 2021, published in the book linked to this project that corresponds to the Appendix III of this writing component.

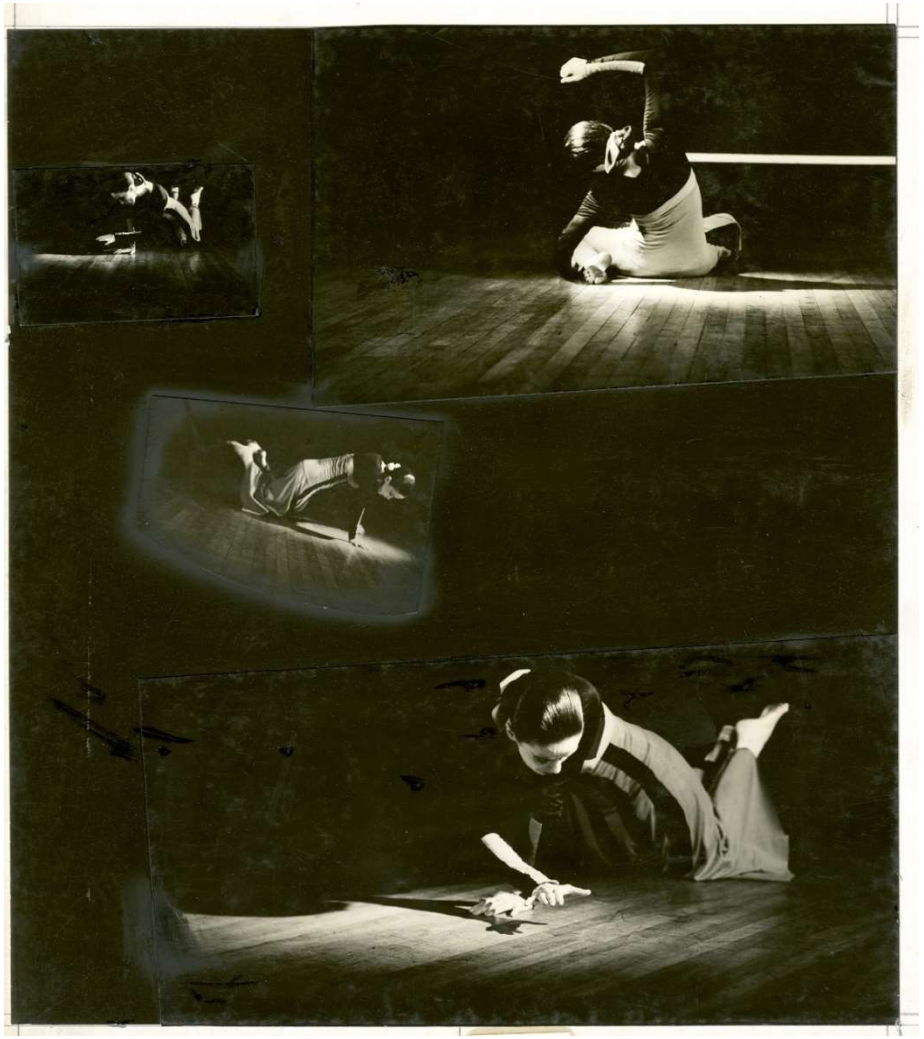


fig.4

The Art of Imitation

Sabeth Buchmann, in her article "Rehearsing in/with Media; Some Remarks on the Relationship between Dance, Film and Painting" (Buchmann, 2016), mentions how the appropriation of the photographic reproduction of any dance positions painting as a transitional and performative

medium. As if it were a dance rehearsal, with its conventions and contingencies, the pictorial exercise also requires reworking the movement to counteract its mere representation. There are a series of aspects, such as rhythm, the organisation of duration, the intervals between exercises, the configuration of movements in a certain space or support (and of the support in relation to space), and the awareness of the position one occupies, which produce a variation of rules capable of transferring the corresponding movements of the painter and the dancers to the affective (self-)movement of the beholder's eye.

Buchmann argues that the discourse around the specificity of the medium is relevant, but at the same time, it is questioned in historical moments or situations that demand radical change, when the visual and performative arts are mixed with each other and also with other media. Buchmann also speaks of Degas' choreographies and about how he conducted his repetitive study of the dance rehearsal in order to observe and analyse a subject that is structurally based on repetitive movements and their reinvention. She approaches Degas through the remarks of Lillian Browse and Paul Valéry. Browse points out that, based on his visits to the opera schools, Degas made comments in which he established parallels between dance and painting, claiming that both require great effort: "just as he drew daily correcting and repeating notes without stopping, observing incessantly, remembering the gestures, tones, masses and changes of light, the dancer also had to discipline herself, just like him, without her technique becoming totally mechanics. She had to practice at the bar for hours, paying attention to different parts of her body separately until everything could be coordinated, until the technique was so perfect that it did not require conscious thought to give everything to artistry." (Quoted in Ibid as: Lillian Browse. *Edgar Degas: Ballet Dancers* (1949). London: Folio Society, 1960, p. 53). Valéry also considers that it is these physical routines and psychological mechanisms that make the pictorial experiment comparable to the dance rehearsal: "the artist steps forward and back, he soon leans to this side and now to that side, he blinks, he behaves as if his whole body would be only an accessory of his eyes, he himself from head to toe is only an instrument in service of aiming, dotting, lining, summarizing." (Quoted in Ibid as: Paul Valéry: *Tanz, Zeichnung and Degas*, ca. 1900. Berlin: Suhrkamp, 1940, p. 38).

As exposed by René Démoris in her article "Body and Soul" (Démoris, 2016), in 1685, André Félibien, considered the first French art critic, reports an anecdote about the Italian painter Domenichino, who was known for his meditation processes before starting a painting session (Quoted in Ibid as: André Félibien. *Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellents peintres anciens et modernes: Entretiens I et II* [ed. René Démoris]. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1987, pp. 183-184). Domenichino's master, Annibale Carracci, thought him mad when he found him groaning and crying while working on a painting of St Andrew, the martyr and Apostle. In fact, Domeninchino was playing the soldier he was depicting by applying the advice given by Quintilien (Marco Fabio Quintiliano, a Roman teacher specialised in the art of imitation) to the orator—that is, to identify oneself with the figure he intended to represent. ''André Félibien and Roger De Piles agreed that this method was far better than to use ready-made figures of passions, described and drawn by the academic Charles Le Brun with a pedagogical intention'' (René Démoris. *Body and soul: About the Practice of Painting in France (660-1770)*, in Isabelle Graw and Ewa Lajer-burcharth (Eds.). *Painting beyond Itself: The Medium in the Post-medium Condition*. Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2016, pp.206, 207). Démoris writes in defence that it is in his or her own body that the painter finds the truth of his or her figure at the time of execution.

After *Deep Song* premiered, the American critic Henry Gilfond wrote, wrote at Dance Observer in January 1938: "*Immediate Tragedy* and, especially, *Deep Song*, are not dances that depict the Spanish scene, its anguish, its sorrows and its strength, but rather they are dances that speak of the anguish, sorrow and determination of an American, three thousand miles away from the realities of the battlefields, contemplating the suffering and the unflagging spirit of a people who will not be defeated. How important this difference is! (The tendency of the writer, and perhaps the reader, is to go off on a Deep Song himself; but we'll try to avoid it.) *Deep Song* is not a picture of a Spanish women; it is, in intense phrases of torment, the story of the tortured

mind, and body, that in some way was and is the experience common to all the people who understand, know, react to such human sufferings as the Spanish peoples have faced these last long months. *Immediate Tragedy*, subtitled *Dance of Dedication*, in a similar manner is America's Immediate Tragedy, and Martha Graham's Dance of Dedication. It is not Spain that we see in her clean impassioned movements; it is the realization that Spain's tragedy is ours, is the whole world's tragedy." (Henry Gilfond. Martha Graham. New York: The Dance Observer, January 1938, pp.7,8).

Certainly, *Deep Song* was choreographically based on reiterative falls, strong body tension, which Graham's Technique focuses on the pelvis, and on trying to represent the weight that women have to carry in any war. But, all these elements, could easily be identified not only in the pioneering modern photojournalism covering the Spanish Civil War, but also in the great number of banners and propaganda creatively improvised by the Spanish civilians at the same time***fig5***, far more difficult to have reached Graham's hands.

Susan Sontag, in her essay *Regarding the Pain of Others* (Sontag, 2003) [11], explains how the Spanish Civil War was the first to be covered, in a modern sense, by bodies of professional photographers attending military pronouncements and in cities under bombardment, whose works were immediately seen in newspapers and magazines inside and outside of Spain.

Gerta Pohorylle, for instance, was one of them. She, together with Endre Ernö Friedmann, came up with a shared fictional identity of the photojournalist Robert Capa, under whose name they both shot hundreds of negatives until she began working on her own, with the nickname Gerda Taro. It was then that she travelled alone to the front at Brunete and died. The fighting at the Battle of Brunete took place as a failed attempt by the forces loyal to the Second Republic to reduce pressure on Madrid's front. There, is where her feminine perspective on the war ceased

fig.5

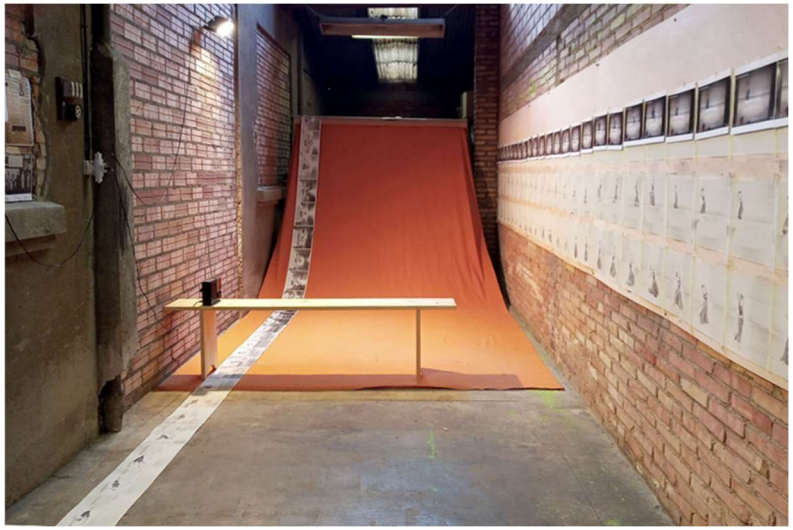
to be along with her last undeveloped film. Her death was announced on double page 62-63 of Life magazine issued on the 16th of August in 1937, along with Capa's iconic *The Falling Soldier* and other pictures ***fig6***.

Back to Sontag's work, she discusses processes of subjectivation and alterity based on a gaze directed onto the pain of others, focuses her analysis on images and photographs of suffering, especially those images depicting war conflicts, and how they are conveyed and transformed through the media and public opinion, identifying the various roles that war photography can take. She explains how modern life offers innumerable opportunities to deal with the grief of others through distance and photography. Being a spectator of calamities that take place in other countries is a genuinely modern experience; we cannot ignore that the culture of the spectacle neutralises the moral force of photographs depicting atrocities, which is why, more and more, we have lost the capacity to react to them. From the extensive amounts of atrocious images frozen in our minds today, what unites dance and painting (think, for example, of the *Gaddafi series* of paintings made by Wilhelm Sasnal in 2011)[12] the way they propose how to internalise this imagery. In her book *Un mundo común* [A Common World], the Spanish philosopher Marina Garcés, mentions an "us" based on interdependence, recognition and co-involvement. The author affirms that it is not the gaze itself that stops the viewer from reacting, but rather "the historical-political conditions that have shaped our stark and focused gaze on the world". Then, it will not be a question of vilifying the mere look at the pain of the other, but of recovering our ability to look at it in an incarnate way that will allow us to relate to "ourselves" through a sensitive eye that shuns isolation and totalization. Garcés follows ''The spectator does not need to be saved, but we do need to conquer our eyes together so that our eyes, instead of putting the world in front of us, learn to see the world in our midst'' (Marina Garcés. Un mundo común. Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2013, p.111).

fig.6

The Rehearsal Space Setting

An important aim that *Rehearsal for Deep Song* intends to achieve is, thus, to think about other ways to cope with the violent imaginary we are exposed to with the influx of information we receive from news and social media, information that travels now at the speed of light and from conflicts taking place at various parts of the globe. There might be different ways to interpret the jump of such evident distance as that which exists between those catastrophes and us, their spectators. And so, another aim makes itself evident in trying to do the above: to contribute to the renewal of a genre, that of historical painting, and to do it through a working methodology that emphasises its power of recreation, paying attention to how the body is able to handle information while immersed in the process of painting, rather than restrict itself to the task of representation. The slow process of analysing images through painting—as well as through dance—suggest other ways to cope with the photographic source materials. In both media, empathy with the subject plays an important role. A way to describe the creative process in *Rehearsal for Deep Song* is to talk about the special setting that develops in the studio in order to execute the pictorial frieze, which has become an improvised secret stage, the chosen circumstances in which the project takes place. In this set, there are two objects of relevance: one is a bench, the other a radio.



On the Bench

> "Its opening mood was one of quivering premonition. The parting curtains found the dancer seated on a long white bench, her glossy black hair tied tightly in a bun at the nape of her neck, her legs spreading her wide-striped panelled skirt to the far sides. With an intake of the breath, a dance of unspeakable sorrow began; it told the tale of not one woman but of all women who suffered when sons, brothers, and husbands go to war to kill other women's sons, brothers, and husbands.
>
> Twisting sideways, the dancer arched high into the bench, her face dropping over the palm of a hand. Then, like a wounded animal, she threw herself forward to writhe and crawl in a frenzy of despair. A series of falls soon followed, some breaking backward, some half suspended as though transfixed in the grip of tortured feelings."
>
> (Ernestine Stodelle, *Deep Song: The Dance Story of Martha Graham*, New York: Schirmer Books, 1984, pp. 99-100.)

Martha Graham collaborated frequently with the Japanese sculptor Isamu Noguchi, who designed twenty-five of her stage sets, from *Frontier* in 1935 to *Night Chant* in 1988. For *Frontier*, Noguchi only placed two horizontal wooden bars between two posts in the centre of the stage, reminding us of those fences laid across railroad tracks at a border checkpoint. Behind that, he stretched two ropes, simulating the receding vanishing point of the endless expanses of the American West. It is the first set design that Graham commissioned to anyone else. For Graham, Noguchi provides an important personal link to her ongoing dialogue with Eastern cultures. According to the choreographer Willy Tsao: "A Graham contraction is similar to the Chinese martial arts chi-gong, or breath-exercise, which is the foundation of the Chinese martial arts and also comes from deep inside the gut" (Russell Freedman. *Martha Graham. A Dancer's Life.* New York: Clarion Books, 1998, p.123). It seemed logical to relate *Deep Song* to the traditional Japanese dances that depict combat, even though, this time, Noguchi did not design the set. For both *Lamentation* (1930) and *Deep Song* (1937), Graham was the one in charge of it, dancing next to a lonely wooden bench. In *Lamentation* ***fig7***, she uses a mourner's bench, a place for weeping and grieving, made for pain to comfortably express its contortions. During

the entire length of the choreography, Graham does not move away from the bench, making it an extension of her body.

In *Deep Song*, however, the bench becomes the central axis of all her movements. According to Terese Capucilli, the first dancer to reenact *Deep Song* after Graham in 1988 as mentioned before, the bench is both home and grave, a place of both comfort and despair, where the dancer, a struggling soul, can find solace, but which, at the same time, spins her and propels her in trajectories that emerge from and towards it (Interview with Terese Capucilli via e-mail, 1st of February 2022). The bench is a place to return to after her endless falls and crawling, after reaching something or carrying it with her. Lourdes Dávila, who, as well as Capucilli, nowadays is a dancer and teacher, wrote in *The Volunteer*[13]: "The bench is a center of energy that, beginning as a home, or a womb, transforms itself into the trenches where men are fighting, the weight that the woman must carry, the grave that she inhabits for a moment, and the final resting place against which she mourns (Lourdes Dávila. Martha Graham's Dances for Spain https://albavolunteer.org/2020/11/martha-grahams-dances-for-spain/. Accessed on 20 June 2021). The bench is thus many things, even more if we take into account what it can suggest to the public, but the simplicity of its thin wooden planks can easily remind us of those used in a mourner's bench and those used for a custom-made coffin. Capucilli describes how, in 1988, the production team of the company "fabricated a bench that, when lying down, her head would touch one leg and her feet the other" (Interview with Terese Capucilli via e-mail, 1st of February, 2022).

For the bench recreated for *Rehearsal for Deep Song*, I took as reference the one visible in Barbara Morgan's photographs ***fig4***, which features arched feet and differs from the straight cut feet that accompanied Capucilli's performance in 1988. To achieve this, I contacted a craftsman specialized in wild woodwork with a workshop close to Manresa, the city where I live[14]. There, we adapted the design to the measurements of my body. I rehearsed with it the movements of

fig.7

the choreography before I began painting them. This construction was the first step for preparing all the subsequent recreation work that is implicit in this research project; to have the bench available in my studio was important, both to dance with and to use as a support for my painting materials, such as my palette, turpentine, a few tubes of paint and some brushes.

On the Radio

Henry Cowell composed the music for *Immediate Tragedy* and *Deep Song* from California's San Quentin Prison, where he was jailed on charges of public scandal because of his homosexual conduct. He refused a defence lawyer at his trial and pleaded guilty. But, as his biographer, the pianist Joel Sachs, accurately explains, Cowell used his time there productively and started composing in what he called his "elastic" manner—using scripting modules, sets of melodic and percussive phrases of varying lengths, which could be mixed in different ways, allowing the choreographer to adjust, cut and paste them as the dance developed (Sachs, 2022).

Martha Graham visited Cowell regularly in San Quentin. At some point, in the winter of 1936–1937, she asked him to work together in paying homage to the many deaths of the Spanish Civil War. According to Sydney Cowell, his widow, Graham would perform her movements in the visiting room of San Quentin to the shocked concern of guards (Sachs, 2022). Cowell titled the piece *Sarabande*, while Martha titled her dance *Immediate Tragedy*, and was about to premiere it in July 1937 (see note nº4).

Martha Graham and Louis Horst (her musical conductor and also founder of the dance periodical *The Dance Observer* since 1934) were immersed in rehearsals and teaching at the campus of Bennington College School of Dance in Vermont, when they received the finished score. The composer Norman Lloyd recalls and says: "Louis Horst and I looked at it and agreed

that we had never seen anything like it. Cowell had written two basic phrases to be played by oboe and clarinet. Each phrase existed in two-measure, three-measure, [and] eight-measure versions. All that was necessary was to fit a five-measure musical phrase to a five-measure dance phrase—or make such overlaps as were deemed necessary. The process, as I remember it, took about an hour. The total effect was complete unity. Sombre and subdued, the music matched Graham's dance style perfectly" (Norman Lloyd. *Sound- Companion for dance.* New York: Dance Scope, Spring 1966, pp 11-12). Happy with the results, Graham asked Cowell for another piece to combine with *Immediate Tragedy*.

For *Deep Song*, Cowell composed the score ***fig8*** with options to use different combinations of instruments depending on different needs and preferences by Graham and Horst. For the percussion parts, of which there are two in the score, these have the option of using different combinations as follows: 1. Drums, 2. Wood-block and drums, 3. two gongs (small and large) and three drums (small, medium or large). For the melodic parts, options were given to use any of the following: oboe, voice, muted trumpet, or clarinet.

Despite being an important part of Cowell's legacy, the scores for *Immediate Tragedy* and *Deep Song* were lost for decades, along with the transition music between the first and the latter so that Graham could change her clothes in between the two solos. But, approximately in 2003, Terese Capucilli, who was also artistic director of the Martha Graham Company from 2002 to 2005, discovered a copy of the original score for *Deep Song* ***fig8*** behind a desk in the studio office[15]. Up until then, the only trace of it was a photograph of Graham seated at a desk in Bennington with Louis Horst's adaptation for piano laid out in front of her[16]. On the copy of the original manuscript score, one can read in Spanish, in Cowell's own handwriting "Canto Hondo". It clearly summons the lament that, those people that the Spanish Inquisition pushed into the mountains, turned into music during the reign of the Spanish Catholic Monarchs (1474-15049). The same music that Manuel de Falla, Lorca and other intellectuals tried to promote running a

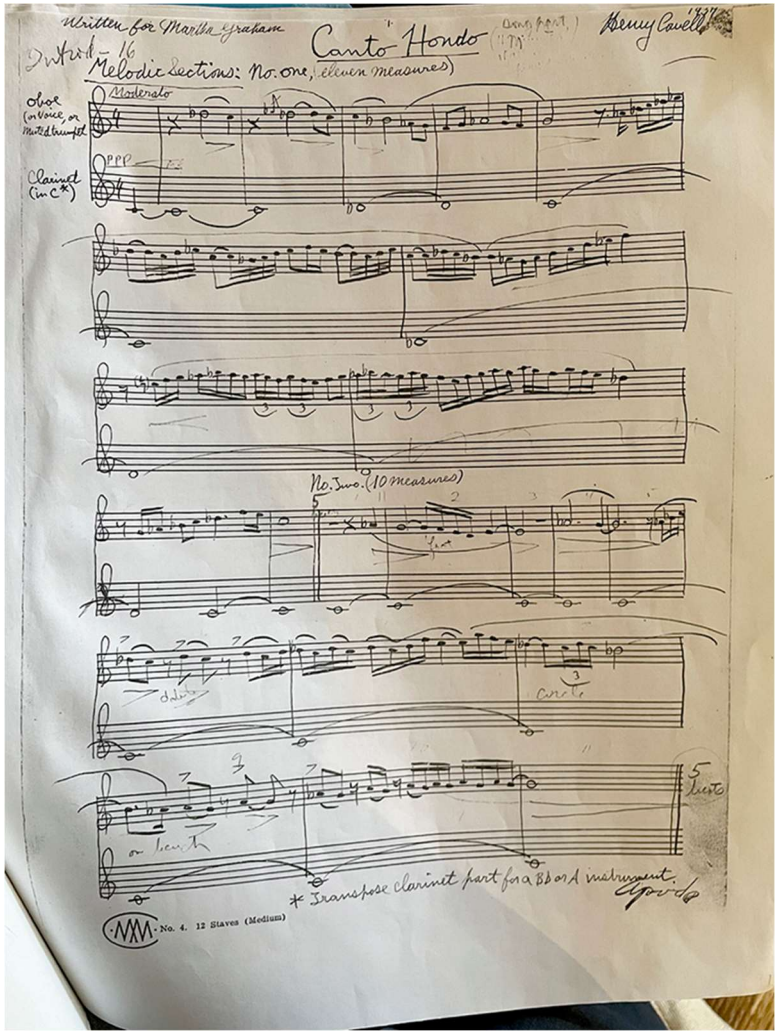


fig.8

contest in 1922 ***fig10***. In the same year, Lorca gave the lecture *El Cante Jondo, el cante primitivo andaluz* [Deep Song, Primitive Andalusian Song] at the *Centro Artístico de Granada*, accompanied by the guitar player Manuel Jofré, aka El Niño de Baza. He also read a sneak preview of the *Poema del cante jondo* [Poem of the Deep Song] (1931) for the first time at the contest presentation, which takes place at the little Arab theatre of the Hotel Alhambra Palace in Granada[4]. As a teacher at The New School for Social Research in New York (where he lectured on a variety of topics, including Primitive Music, The Creation of Music, Origins of Music, Folk music as a hybrid between primitive and cultivated systems, and Development of modern music from older masters ('Histories of the New School: Henry Cowell', http://newschoolhistories.org/people/henry-cowell/. Accessed on 20 July 2022), before and after being jailed, Cowell must have known this story well. His *Sarabande* score for *Immediate Tragedy* has not yet been found.

When Graham and Capucilli re-enacted *Deep Song* in 1988 ***fig9***, in the absence of the score and in conjunction with Stanley Sussman (the musical director of the company at that time), they opted to do it with *Sinister Resonance* (1930), another of Cowell's compositions that has followed the choreography to the present. For *Sinister Resonance*, Cowell decided to intervene directly on the piano strings, using the piano as percussion in reference to the strumming and plucking of a Spanish guitar, which made sense to practice again at the time to echo the anguish of modern Spain during the war. John Cage, Cowell's assistant while teaching his class on the origin of music at New York's New School of Social Research, used the same technique in 1940 when the dancer Syvilla Fort asked him to compose music for her *Bachanale*, inspired by her African-American roots. Lack of space, even for dancing, and of funds for hiring percussionists, forced Cage to use the only piano available for the occasion, in what would become the first of his 28 works composed for prepared piano.

fig.9

As I write these lines, in December 2021, Terese Capucilli is working on a new project to reenact *Deep Song* again with Cowell's original score which was arranged by Louis Horst in the late thirties and edited by Aaron Sherber in 2015. In addition, for this occasion, Capucilli includes the movements captured in Robert Fraser's photographs, discovered by his son and recently acquired by the company and that now complement those of Barbara Morgan ***fig4*** used to reconstruct the piece in 1988. This updated rendition of *Deep Song* will premiere on January 25th, 2022 in New York, at the Juilliard School of Dance's Peter Jay Sharp Theater, as part of the music festival *Focus 2022: From "Maple Leaf Rag" to the Prepared Piano: The Making of an American Music, 1899–1948.*

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This black Philips radio has been present all along the creative process of Rehearsal for Deep Song. The radio was always on, while I, like Domenichino, clumsily and emotionally internalised the movement sequences that Graham defined to better translate them to the pictorial medium. The attempt to embody some fundamentals of Graham's technique, based on the mastery of a tension movement, between contraction (exhalation) and relaxation (inhalation), carried by the pelvis, made me enrol on an online initiation course given by her company during confinement. While I danced, the radio did not stop broadcasting the atrocities that took place around the world, far away from my studio and home (I am renting a basement just under my flat), and the hopeless socio-political crisis that keeps on raging out there. Very soon, as I started working on the pictorial frieze, it was also going to announce the beginning of the pandemic. Some news broadcasted by the radio can be heard in the video that accompanies this project, in which I rehearse the choreography before I paint it.

The approach to the unfortunate events that took place during the two years that took me to complete this research project, from September 2019 to September 2021, has prompted the timeline that runs throughout the book. It functions as a complement below the documentation of the paintings' sequence in the long pictorial frieze. I have written another timeline that runs above it and that takes us back to 1922, when Federico García Lorca gave his lecture, in the context of the deep song contest ***fig10*** that he helped to organise in Granada. The book also features various other archival materials, divided into three parts. The first part relates to Lorca and shows documents linked to the preparations of that contest and to the productive year he spent in New York (1929-1930)[17], before being killed during the Spanish Civil War[18]. The second part of this archival material features documents linked to the creative process Graham used in developing and premiering Deep Song in 1937, and its recreation in 1988. And the third part contains documents related to the Spanish Civil War, but focused on the role of women during the conflict. In order to find all those mentioned materials, I have contacted, and I am very thankful to the following organisations for the preservation of their legacy: The Martha Graham Dance Company, The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, The Library of Congress in Washington, The Archives of American Art at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington (specially the Gerald Monroe research material on the American Artists' Congress of the Artists' Union, and the WPA – Roosevelt's Works Progress Administration), The UCLA Library Special Collections (at the University of California, which takes care of Barbara Morgan's legacy), the Pavelló de la República Library in Barcelona, considered one of the leading archives on the Spanish Second Republic and the Spanish Civil War, and The Fundación Pablo Iglesias Archives (Alcalá University, Spain) focused on the Spanish labour movement. The Cento Federico Garcia Lorca Archives has also been a key resource; the centre is now directed by Lorca's niece, Laura Garcia-Lorca de los Rios, born in New York because of the family exile, who has also engaged me in long conversations with her[19]. The NYPL has facilitated my contact with Terese Capucciliⁱ***fig9***, currently the most important living source in relation to *Deep Song*, as she was the dancer chosen by Graham to

fig.10

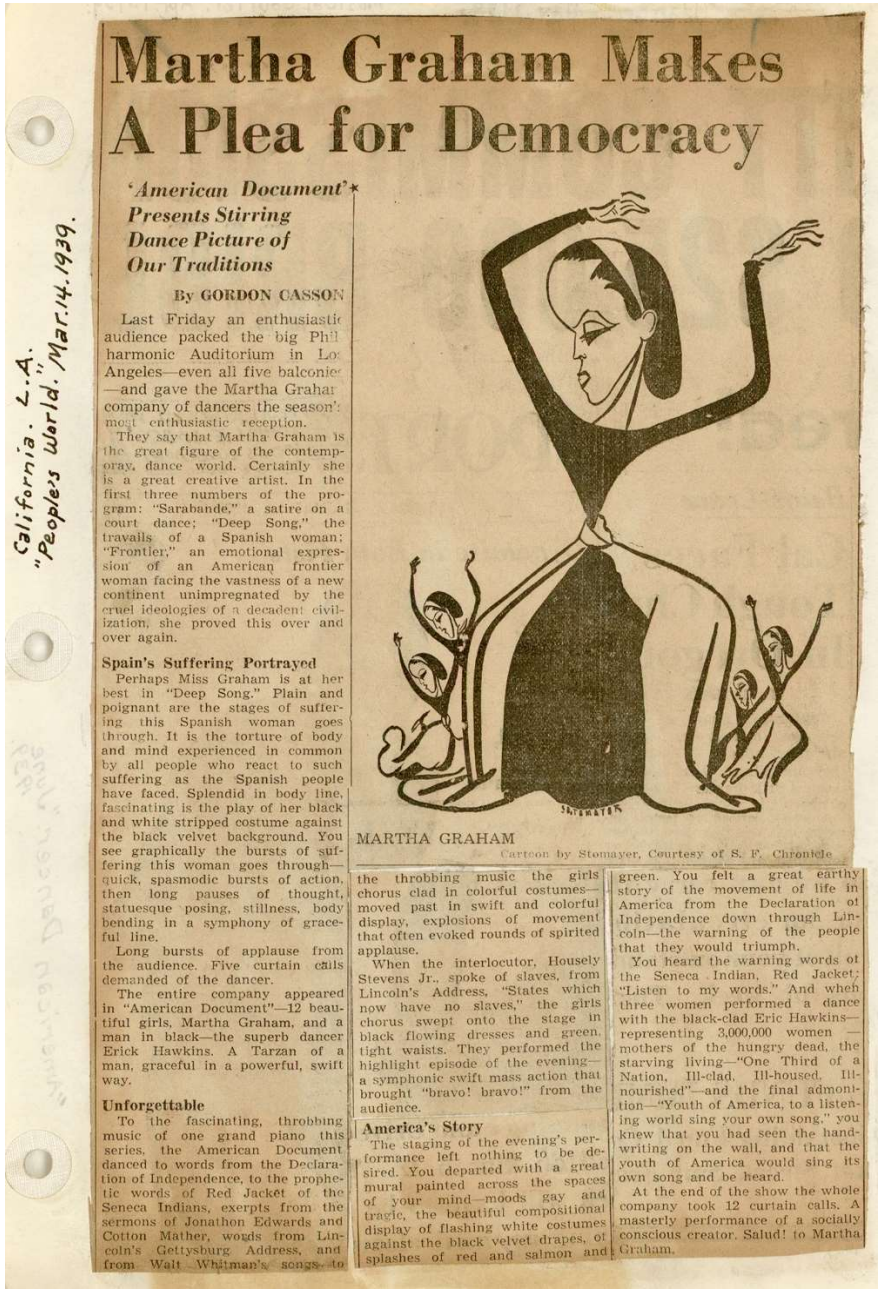
help her reconstruct the piece, able to support with her body the strong muscular demands and the symbolic meaning of the choreographic movements. She has very kindly guided me and supervised my research at the same time that, by pure coincidence, she was working on a new recreation of the piece, incorporating Cowell's original score and Robert Fraser's new-found images, which documented movements that Barbara Morgan had not initially captured. As referred to earlier in this text, this recreated version premiered in December 2021, at the same time I was ending my rehearsal.

Graham's work is in line with the universalist ambitions of abstract modern art; she used to state "Dancing is not representation", and that 'it is perhaps a little closer to what is called nonrepresentational painting" (Anna Kisselgoff. Martha Graham. New York: The New York Times, February 18, 1984, p. 44). But, working in the renewed context of the global pandemic and war in Europe, this project manifests a resistance of/towards abstraction in favour of the specific and the contingent, in an attempt to express an exhaustive specificity. At the same time, it approximates Graham's piece, understanding that, in modern dance, the idea of the original is always already undone, as every dance is different, rooted less in technique than in the work of the embodied self-knowledge of the dancer, less in the faithful assimilation of movement than the discovery of the body's own force in relationship to the choreography. To rehearse implies preparation for a singular or a series of events, a space to make mistakes, to build and internalise, to embody that becoming different from oneself. In this sense, the translation into painting of an alternative recorded version of Deep Song, turns away from the newly recorded "official" version, which was reconstructed by Graham in collaboration with Terese Capucilli in 1988, preferring to work, instead, from a widely available version performed by Laurie Deziel ***fig11***, one of Martha Graham Dance Company' students, that is uploaded and shared on YouTube (Martha Graham's Deep Song solo, https://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=7XgVAnCcnAc. Accessed on 18 September 2019). Even though Graham's Dance Company sent me the official recording with Terese wearing the black and white striped dress inspired by Picasso's Guernica, I preferred to

fig.11

paint the version of the student wearing simple rehearsing clothes, which would, therefore, allow me to more effectively analyse her body movements. In the speculative space of the rehearsal, a singular body makes movements made previously by other bodies, a fact that might bring us to think about the continual making and remaking of history.

At the time of painting, the eight ten-metre-long canvas strips that constitute the eighty-metres-long frieze had an extreme influence on the direction each brushstroke took, that is, this peculiar and long planned support works to function as a structure that forces you to rethink your way of painting. Of course, it is not about a single image any more. It is about all that happens in between the 256 frames that, in total, constitute the pictorial sequence. The result is a symbiotic rapport between three bodies, that of the dancer captured in a certain position by the video frame, that of my own body analysing and learning through mimicry the exact positions taken by that first body (following Marco Fabio Quintiliano advice to Domeninchino), and a third one translated into painting (as a result of the process activated by the second body that has turned a dancing exercise into a painting one). A fourth body appears when a viewer walks along the strips and follows the sequence of movement with his or her eyes, moving their head and torso accordingly. Before starting each canvas strip, I can confirm that I feel as nervous and tense as I used to feel before dancing in public, and, once started, I do not allow myself to pause at all (as in a real dance performance). The sequence of painted images needs to be made as freshly and automatically as possible, as to lose the sense that you are painting a frame-by-frame picture. Even if I make a little mistake or a brushstroke fails to accomplish its purpose, I force myself to continue, allowing the moment to record everything as it happens with all its imperfections uncovered. But, as in rehearsals, the dance is rarely entirely executed; the dancer becomes familiarised with the choreography by rehearsing its parts, sections or subdivisions. I identify these sections with each corresponding ten-metre strip. I have to plan, for that reason, a very strict working routine in which each strip needs to be entirely painted in a short period of time, a moment into which I can put all my attention.



California. L.A.
"People's World." Mar.14.1939.

Martha Graham Makes A Plea for Democracy

'American Document' Presents Stirring Dance Picture of Our Traditions

By GORDON CASSON

Last Friday an enthusiastic audience packed the big Philharmonic Auditorium in Los Angeles—even all five balconies—and gave the Martha Graham company of dancers the season's most enthusiastic reception.

They say that Martha Graham is the great figure of the contemporary dance world. Certainly she is a great creative artist. In the first three numbers of the program: "Sarabande," a satire on a court dance; "Deep Song," the travails of a Spanish woman; "Frontier," an emotional expression of an American frontier woman facing the vastness of a new continent unimpregnated by the cruel ideologies of a decadent civilization; she proved this over and over again.

Spain's Suffering Portrayed

Perhaps Miss Graham is at her best in "Deep Song." Plain and poignant are the stages of suffering this Spanish woman goes through. It is the torture of body and mind experienced in common by all people who react to such suffering as the Spanish people have faced. Splendid in body line, fascinating is the play of her black and white stripped costume against the black velvet background. You see graphically the bursts of suffering this woman goes through—quick, spasmodic bursts of action, then long pauses of thought, statuesque posing, stillness, body bending in a symphony of graceful line.

Long bursts of applause from the audience. Five curtain calls demanded of the dancer.

The entire company appeared in "American Document"—12 beautiful girls, Martha Graham, and a man in black—the superb dancer Erick Hawkins. A Tarzan of a man, graceful in a powerful, swift way.

Unforgettable

To the fascinating, throbbing music of one grand piano this series, the American Document danced to words from the Declaration of Independence, to the prophetic words of Red Jacket of the Seneca Indians, exerpts from the sermons of Jonathon Edwards and Cotton Mather, words from Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, and from Walt Whitman's songs to

MARTHA GRAHAM

Cartoon by Stomayer, Courtesy of S. F. Chronicle

the throbbing music the girls chorus clad in colorful costumes—moved past in swift and colorful display, explosions of movement that often evoked rounds of spirited applause.

When the interlocutor, Housely Stevens Jr., spoke of slaves, from Lincoln's Address, "States which now have no slaves," the girls chorus swept onto the stage in black flowing dresses and green, tight waists. They performed the highlight episode of the evening—a symphonic swift mass action that brought "bravo! bravo!" from the audience.

America's Story

The staging of the evening's performance left nothing to be desired. You departed with a great mural painted across the spaces of your mind—moods gay and tragic, the beautiful compositional display of flashing white costumes against the black velvet drapes, of splashes of red and salmon and green. You felt a great earthy story of the movement of life in America from the Declaration of Independence down through Lincoln—the warning of the people that they would triumph.

You heard the warning words of the Seneca Indian, Red Jacket; "Listen to my words." And when three women performed a dance with the black-clad Eric Hawkins—representing 3,000,000 women — mothers of the hungry dead, the starving living—"One Third of a Nation, Ill-clad, Ill-housed, Ill-nourished"—and the final admonition—"Youth of America, to a listening world sing your own song," you knew that you had seen the handwriting on the wall, and that the youth of America would sing its own song and be heard.

At the end of the show the whole company took 12 curtain calls. A masterly performance of a socially conscious creator. Salud! to Martha Graham.

fig.12

The execution of the painting goes that way, quickly and takes only intense concentration. After mothering, teaching, and all the paperwork that implies managing artistic projects, plus the time of dedication required to conduct historical research when the project demands it, what really takes time is to find eight periods of two or three days to focus just on painting. Since each section has been rehearsed at different moments, formal differences can easily be appreciated among them, because the inclination to perform can never be consistent. It is true, however, that I have witnessed the frieze improving through rehearsals. I was not satisfied with the first strips, which did not include any rhythm in their frame-by-frame process. As the project progressed, I was happier with the results, except for some occasional clumsiness. Another detail that was not planned beforehand took place when the work on the fourth strip began; I started painting the dancer without her head. It seems that this spontaneous decision to depict a headless body was chosen in an unconscious manner in order to favour those moments of perception that are not mediated by the mind, but by processes in which the body, in certain kinds of rituals, takes control over everything. The decapitalization (from the Latin *caput* meaning head or top) of the all-controlling head, in order to invest power to the whole body, opens ways to act through those viscerally intelligent manners that are somehow linked to practical skills.

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My mother always had that black radio in the kitchen and, when she turned it on and I was home, I could hear her tuning it from all the corners in the flat. This did not happen often, because she did not have the time to turn it on and because I was seldom at home, only with the time to eat something and prepare my bag to go to train artistic swimming at the pool after school. If now I have this radio in my studio, it is because, from the time she tried to get rid of it, it belongs to the collection of objects that I have kept from each move to move, since I left our home.

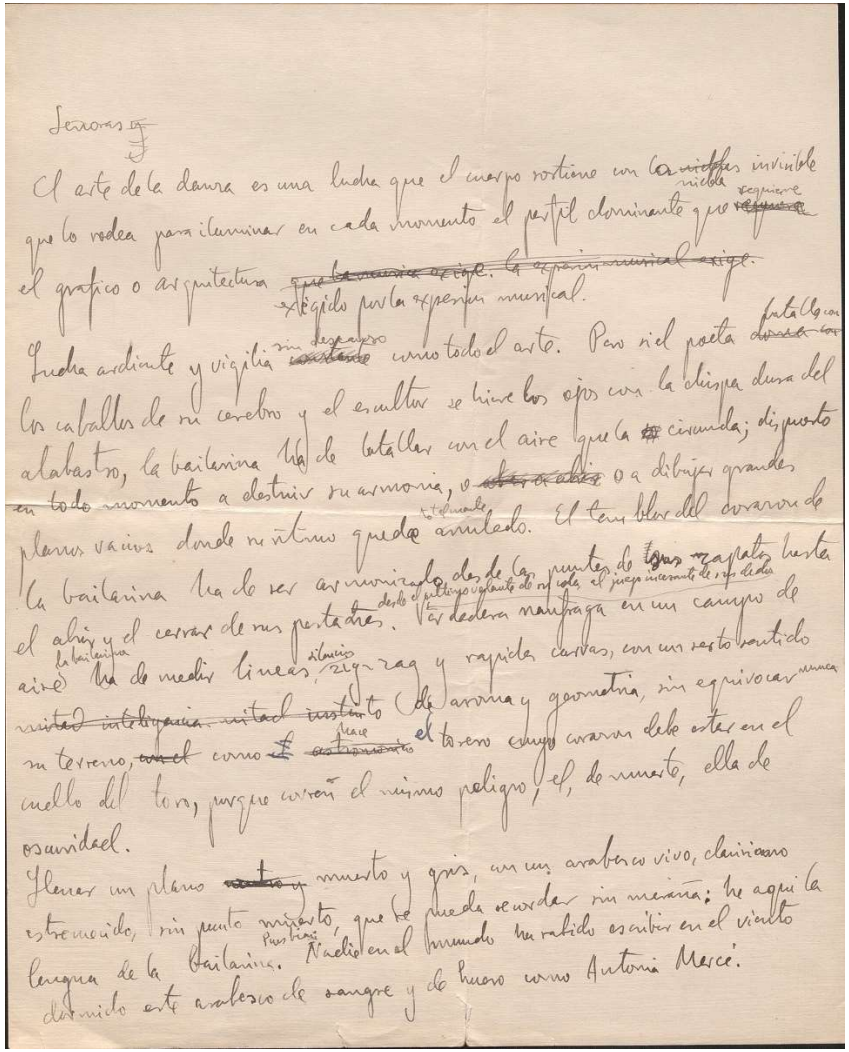
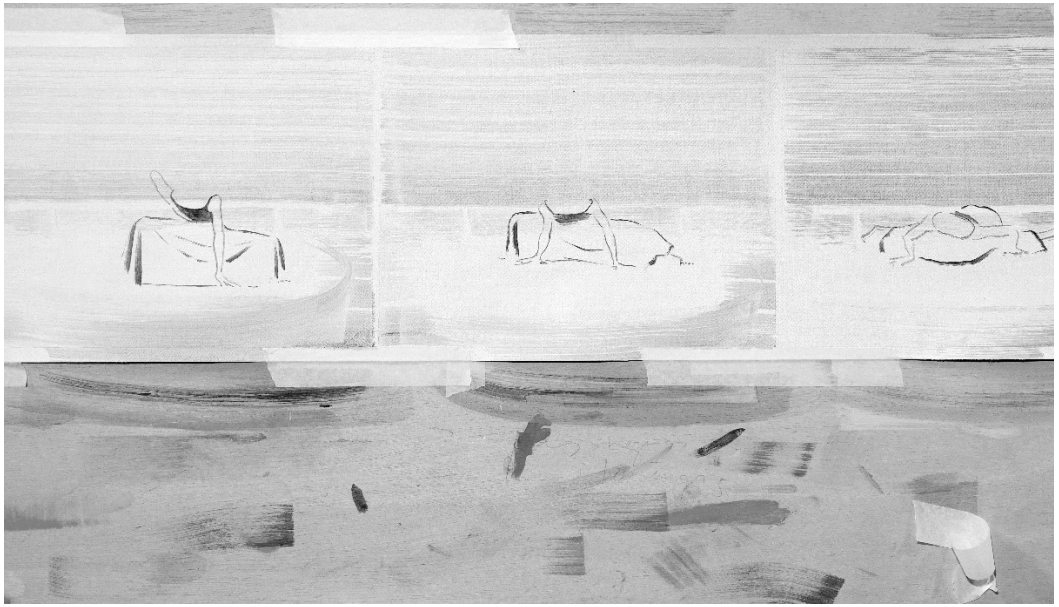


fig.13



ENDNOTES

1. *Lamentation* - Graham premiered *Lamentation* on the 8th January 1930 at New York's Maxine Elliott's Theatre, with music by Zoltán Kodály, and as part of the *Dance Repertory Theatre*. This was a personal undertaking of Doris Humphrey, Charles Weidman and Helen Tamiris, which Graham joins in hopes of programming outstanding works of contemporary dance in the United States. *Lamentation* is performed almost entirely with the dancer in a seated position on a single bench, cocooned in a large purple jersey sleeve. The body struggling inside this material is like a moving sculpture that portrays the very essence of grief. As explained in the Martha Graham Company's catalog of works, the figure in this dance is neither human nor animal, neither male nor female: it is grief itself.

2. *Chronicle* - Martha Graham premiered *Chronicle* on the 20th December 1936 at New York's New Guild Theatre, a chorus dance in three parts: 1. *Dances Before Catastrophe*, (a) *Spectre*-1914 (Drums - Red Shroud - Lament) and (b) *Masque; 2. Dances After Catastrophe*, (a) *Steps in the Street (Devastation - Exile)* and (b) *Tragic Holiday (In Memoriam)*; and 3. *Prelude to Action (Unity - Pledge to Future)*. The music is by Wallington Riegger and the sets are by Isamu Noguchi. She made her own costumes.

3. *Immediate Tragedy* - In the context of the summer course that she lead at Bennington College Dance School in Vermont, Martha Graham premiered *Immediate Tragedy* on the 30th July 1937 in reaction to the Spanish Civil War. Henry Cowell writed the music from San Quentin State Prison, Arch Lauterer took care of the lighting, and Martha herself designed the costumes.

At the time of reconstructing *Deep Song* in 1988, there was little documentary material to also reconstruct *Immediate Tragedy*. However, as the dancer and academic Lourdes Dávila explains in her article for the magazine *The Volunteer* (Davila, 2020), in memory of the veterans of the Lincoln Brigade, this changed when Douglas Fraser contacts Martha Graham Company to tell them that his father, a photographer, was seated in the front row at the premiere of Deep Song in 1937, the second time that Graham performed *Immediate Tragedy*. In June 2020, in the middle of the pandemic, the Company releases a virtual version of *Immediate Tragedy: Dance of Dedication*, available on YouTube (*Immediate Tragedy - Martha Graham Dance Company and WildUp*↱ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L_CxbzdXStI&t=5s. Accessed 15th November 2020). The recently found images of the performance are distributed among fourteen dancers, four by four, according to the sequence in the contact sheets. Confined at home, these dancers complete the missing movements between those images with new, creative choreographic phrases, which are then mixed in a single multichannel video with the images of Fraser interspersed in between. In that same video, Janet Filber, the current artistic director of the company, describes the dance that Graham subtitled *Dance of Dedication*, in reference to the Spanish women of that time. The dance critic Anna Kisselgoff, when she thought of the 1988 reconstruction of *Deep Song* while at The New York Times, said: "A tragedy experienced is not the same as tragedy remembered. Distance has its effect." (Anna Kisselgoff. *Graham's 'Deep Song'. 51 and Still Protesting.* New York: The New York Times, October 16, 1988, Section 2, p.22). She states that, in both pieces, the dancer makes visible the carnal experience of history, rushed to the present, to make immediate those now-past sufferings. This immediacy is strengthened by the circumstances in which the piece is recreated in 2020, during the pandemic and after the murder of George Floyd, who, down on the pavement, was unable to move or breathe.

4. *Poem of Deep Song* - Lorca's *Poem of Deep Song* came out in its book format as a collection of poems, published by Madrid's Ediciones Ulises, on the 23th May 1931. He started it almost ten years before once running *The Deep Song Contest* in Granada; on the 19th of February 1922, Lorca gave the lecture *El Cante Jondo, primitivo canto andaluz* (Deep Song, Primitive Andalusian Song) at the Centro Artístico de Granada, accompanied by the guitar player Manuel Jofré, aka El Niño de Baza, and, on the 7th June 1922, *The Contest of the Deep Song* was presented at the little Arab theater of the Hotel Alhambra Palace in Granada. Lorca, together with Manuel de Falla and other friends, including Manuel Ángeles Ortiz, Miguel Cerón y Hermenegildo Lanz, contributed to organize it. They read an excerpt of Falla's study on Cante Jondo (Deep Song), Manuel Jofré plays a petenera and a siguiriya and Lorca reads a sneak preview of the *Poema del cante jondo* [Poem of the Deep Song] for the first time. Andres Segovia closes the act with a soleares. *The Contest of the Deep Song* takes place on the 13th and 14th June 1922 at the Plaza de los Aljibes at the Alhambra. Thousands of people attended it, among them the musicians Óscar Esplá and Enrique Fernández Arbós, the musicologist John B. Trend and the director of New York's Schola Cantorum, Kurt Schindler. The jury, formed by Antonio Chacón, *La Niña de los Peines* and Andrés Segovia, awarded the Zuloaga Prize of 1,000 pesetas to Diego Bermúdez, aka El Tenazas, who, as it is rumored, had walked all the way from Morón and was 72 years old. Another prize of the same amount was awarded to Manolo Caracol, who was then only 13 years old. Minor prizes were also given to La Niña de Salinas, Frasquito Yerbabuena, José Soler, María Amaya Fajardo, aka *La Gazpacha*, the girls Concha Sierra and La Goyita, and the guitar players José Cuéllar and El Niño de Huelva.

5. *Deep Song* - On the 19th of December 1937, *Deep Song* premieres at New York's Guild Theatre in a double bill, together with Immediate Tragedy. Both performances are a reaction to the news that reaches the United States through the various media outlets, of the devastation caused by the Spanish Civil War. Deep Song is performed with a contracted body, adding enormous tension to movements. Her spins, crawls across the floor, contractions and falls are kinetic reenactments of human experiences in the war. As Ernestine Stodelle describes in Deep Song: The Dance Story of Martha Graham, those movements are an "anatomy of anguish borne of tragic events". The inserted movements in the choreography allude to the burdens women are capable of enduring in war. Graham performs *Deep Song* for a second time at New York's Guild Theatre on the 26th of December, together with the third and final performance of Immediate Tragedy. They are her last two solo pieces just before beginning larger scale projects with her company.

6. *Guernica* **-** On the 31st of March 1937, the Italian Aviation Legion and a group of German fighters bombed the village of Durango next to Bilbao, the capital of the Basque Country. It was the beginning of the Richthofen experiments and a second one would take place weeks later, on the 26th of April, on the city of Guernica and with the participation of The German Condor Legion**.** On the 4th of June, Picasso finished his mural painting *Guernica* as a response. Dora Maar had been documenting the "metamorphosis of the painting" (as he would describe it) since May 11th, as requested by Christian Zervos, founder of the French magazine *Cahiers d'art*. Because of the size of the canvas and the poor lighting in the studio, Maar used retouching techniques, internegatives and copy prints; her work was published, together with an image of the sculpture *Woman with Vase* in an issue that the magazine Zervos dedicated exclusively to the painting, with write ups by famous authors. Michel Leiris wrote one of them, entitled *Announcement/ Obituary*. It says: "[…] In

a black and white rectangle that looks like an ancient tragedy, Picasso sends us our letter of doom. Everything we love is about to die, and that is why everything we love must be summed up, with all the high emotion of farewell, in something so beautiful we shall never forget it. Between Picasso's fingers, like the cry of the *'cante jondo'* that has to rise through the throat of the singer so that, at last, its earthly pestilence can turn into pearly iridescence, the black and white vapors crystallize into diamonds, into the breath of a world in agony that the hideous meteors—blades of our love—will soon pierce to the bones." (Michel Leiris. *Announcement/ Obituary*. In Paris: Cahiers d'art, year 12, no. 4/5. 1937, p.128).

7. On the 14th March 1936 Graham replied to dancer and choreographer Rudolf Von Laban with a rejection letter, in which she refused to participate in the International Dance Festival of the Berlin Olympic Games. The prior invitation was also signed by the German Minister of Education and Popular Propaganda, Joseph Goebbels. As she explains in her autobiography, "I replied: 'I would find it impossible to dance in Germany at the present time. So many artists whom I respect and admire have been persecuted, have been deprived of the right to work for ridiculous and unsatisfactory reasons […] In addition, some of my concert group would not be welcomed in Germany. They are Jewish." Although she did not allow political or religious debates in her studio, Graham made public her response through the press, and no other American dance company attends the festival. After organizing the dance performances at the Berlin Olympic Games, Van Laban was banned from leading any artistic activity by the Nazi authorities. Two years later, Van Laban settled to Manchester, where he, together with Lisa Ullmann, founded The Art of Movement Studio. Von Laban developed a choreographic notation system he called kinetography, which, following musical notation, proposes the use of a kinesphere, a kind of virtual space surrounding the body.

Also, on the 19th July 1936, The Popular Olympiad in Barcelona, an alternative to the Olympic Games in Berlin, was cancelled because of the military uprising. As Berlin had won the Olympic candidacy before Hitler took power, various organizations, like the People's Encyclopaedic Athenaeum and the Girls' Union, start a protest campaign supporting the alignment of culture and sports. Many foreign participants took up arms, becoming the seed of the International Brigades which helped the Spanish government. Among them are the Swiss anarchist Clara Thalmann and the English painter Felicia Browne, who will be shot at the Aragon front by a sniper.

8. Cante jondo - "Deep song" or "profound song'' in Andalusian Spanish with hondo ("deep") spelled with J (Spanish pronunciation: [x]) as a form of eye dialect, because traditional Andalusian pronunciation has retained an aspirated H lost in other forms of Spanish. Generally considered the most serious form and deeply moving variety of flamenco, or Spanish Roma, song. The cante jondo developed a distinctive melodic style, the foremost characteristics of which are a narrow range, a predilection for the reiteration of one note in the manner of a recitative (intoned speech), a dramatic use of ornate melodic embellishment, a preoccupation with microtones (intervals smaller than a semitone), and a subtle, intricate rhythm that defies notation.

The musician and Lorca's friend Manuel de Falla claimed that the arrival of gypsies in southern Europe brought with them Arab and Hebrew chants that derived into the definitive form of cante jondo. Although, its true origin is not known with certainty, it is believed that it was during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs that this type of singing flourished. The explanation comes from the persecution suffered by gypsies, Jews and Muslims in Spain, who were forced to convert to Catholicism. From this dramatic historical event, the purest flamenco was born, whose lyrics made reference to suffering on themes such as death, love or family. With the introduction of the flamenco guitar and dance, the cante jondo became a fundamental part of flamenco art, although not the only one. When singing cafés proliferated in the 19th century, flamenco went out of the home to become a popular spectacle enjoyed by people from all social classes.

9. Among them, in December 1936, Angna Enters debuted *Flesh Possessed Saint - Red Málaga - 1936* and *Spain Says Salud!* at the Alvin Theater in New York. Also, on the 25th of April 1937, Lily Mehlman, a Graham's student, debuted *Spanish Woman* at the St. James Theater of New York in a collective show of The New Dance League, in which Miriam Blecher also presented *Advance Scout - Lincoln Bataillon, 1937*. Mehlman's choreography had two parts: 1. *Lullaby for a Dead Child*, 2. *No Pasaran*.

10. *Deep Song* reenactment - On the 5th of October, Terese Capucilli performs *Deep Song* for the first time since Graham ceased doing so in 1941. Because of the absence of any filmed material documenting the original, Capucilli and Graham work on a new version of the choreography from about one hundred photographs that the ex-dancer and photographer Barbara Morgan took to publish at her photo-book *Martha Graham: Sixteen Dances in Photographs* (Morgan, 1941) which she made in close collaboration with Graham. Graham and Morgan shared interest from the participatory systems in the Native American rituals of the American Southwest, marked the beginning of a lifelong friendship and professional connection between the two. Morgan, a photographer with a known trajectory in the field of dance, in photomontage and in the characteristic light drawings of Action Photography, is also the founder of the magazine Aperture, together with Ansel Adams and Dorothea Lange. In a text that appears in her book, Morgan describes the process documenting *Deep Song*: "Lighting and timing must also be combined with tonal space, which sustains and gives architectural finality to the communication of the bodily movement as in the torso composition from Ekstasis. If illuminated background can set the figure free in space, restricted light can embed the figure and attach it to the darkness like a sculptural relief, as in the final shot from Deep Song. Empty space is never empty but continually exerts dynamic influence. A light-colored zone may act as a vacuum to suck the figure forward, while a dense shadow may seem to compress the figure. Tonal space orchestrated with timed lighting, becomes a photographic substitute for music, envolving, underscoring, restraining and presaging shift of mood." (Barbara Morgan. *Martha Graham: Sixteen Dances in Photographs*. New York, Morgan&Morgan, 1941, p.151).

11. *Regarding the Pain of Others* **-** In June 1938, Virginia Woolf published *Three Guineas*, a book written two years prior, in which the English author considers the notion of war. This was based on the photographs sent abroad under the Government of the Second Republic by the Ministry of State's Foreign Press Office and the Ministry of Propaganda's Photographic Service, as proof of the atrocities committed by Franco's war machine. Susan Sontag's *Regarding the Pain of Others* begins by mentioning *Three Guineas* and quoting these words: "This morning's collection contains the photograph of what might be a man's body, or a woman's; it is so mutilated that it might, on the other hand, be the body of a pig. But those certainly are dead children, and that undoubtedly is the section of a house. A bomb has torn open the side; there is still a bird-cage hanging in what was presumably the sitting room..." (Susan Sontag. *Regarding the Pain of Others*. London: Penguin Books, 2004, p.3). Photographs taken at the Spanish front and published in international outlets like Picture Post, Regard, and Vu, were intrinsic to the upwelling of support in the US for the Republican struggle (along with the strength of leftist movements buoying support for the Popular Front). Capa's (Gerta Pohorylle and Endre Ernö Friedmann's) iconic photograph *The Falling Soldier* was published in July of 1937 in LIFE magazine, preceding a portfolio of other war images that would reach American publications in 1938. Sontag, in the New Yorker essay that would become her 2003 book *On Regarding the Pain of Others*, memorably describes the image that "virtually anyone who has heard of that war can summon." Taken at the moment of a bullet's impact, the soldier is "...collapsing backward onto a hillock, his right arm flung behind him as his rifle leaves his grip—about to fall, dead, onto his own shadow." (Susan Sontag. *Looking at War: Photography's View of Devastation and Death.* New York: The New Yorker, December 9, 2002, p. 87). The compelling photographic capture "the decisive moment" that Henri Cartier-Bresson (co-founder of the Magnum photo agency together with Capa's) would later coin. The iconicity of Capa's frame may also come from its resonance with another instance of historical shorthand, Goya's *The 3rd of May 1808 in Madrid* (1814).

We must bear in mind that Sontag, before publishing her radically revised opinions on war and atrocity photography in 2003, in 1993, she staged a production of *Waiting for Godot* in Sarajevo, a city she regularly visited during the Bosnian War, living in the standing half of a partially shelled hotel. She worked with the city's cadre of unemployed actors: a lived experience of siege into study, memorization, and artmaking. In Regarding the Pain of Others, Sontag touches on atrocity images from the Spanish Civil War to Abu Ghraib, insisting that no series of images can transmit an understanding of trauma: that knowledge must be lived on the ground.

12. Gaddafi series by Wilhelm Sasnal **-** In October 2011 Rebel fighters captured Libyan dictator for forty-two years Muammar Gaddafi hiding with his bodyguards in a large drainage pipe. In a series of frenzied events, the dictator was wounded (either by shrapnel or gunshots) before being pulled from his hideout and killed, with conflicting accounts as to the exact means of his death. Mobile phone video footage of his last moments was quickly broadcast around the

world. Within days of this taking**.** Sasnal made a group of three paintings based on digital images of the violent death of Gaddafi: ***Gaddafi 1*** depicts the body of the Libyan dictator Muammar Gaddafi, but, rather than show the corpse directly, Sasnal depicts an amorphous mass of paint resting on what appears to be a mattress. The thick impasto of the oil paint, alludes to the ripped and torn body of the dictator, contrasting sharply with the flat paint work of the surrounding space. ***Gaddafi 2*** depicts a group of rebel fighters looking at, and taking images of, the body of the dictator. A figure on the right side is caught in the process of filming the scene, which forms the central action of the image. The mediation of the event, first through video footage, which was broadcast on the news worldwide, then through the translation of some of these images into painting, is elevated to the central subject matter of the work. ***Gaddafi 3*** depicts again the body of the dictator lying on a mattress surrounded by the group of rebel fighters. The scale of this canvas, the largest of the three, establishes a direct physical relationship between the viewer and the fighters depicted within it, both engaged in focusing on the lifeless body. The flat application of oil paint, unusual fleshy palette and use of grey-scale with a preponderance of saturated black, are all typical of Sasnal's practice. The dramatically foreshortened figure of Gaddafi also recalls Andrea Mantegna's painting Lamentation of Christ c.1480 (Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan). Though, it is rare for Sasnal to make the relationship of his paintings to digital imagery so explicit, whereas the dramatic cropping, stark palette and obscured facial features are all highly typical of his approach.*Source: https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/sasnal-gaddafi-1-t14241*

13. Lourdes Dávila is a professional dancer and founder and managing director of the journal Esferas an initiative within New York University's Department of Spanish & Portuguese. Her academic writing focuses on the intersection of photography, dance/movement and writing in Latin America. The Volunteer is a magazine in memory of the veterans of the Lincoln Brigade.

14. His name is Elies Picanyol, and his project is tittled *A_mà. Fusteria silvestre* (Hand_made. Wild woodwork) https://www.instagram.com/a_ma_fusteriasilvestre/

15. Henry Cowell *Deep Song* original score - The original manuscript was most likely lost in San Quentin. See Sherver, Aaron: Notes on the reconstruction of Deep Song. Sherver's explanation of the entire score parts, adaptations by Louis Horst, and changes. Sherver was music director at the Martha Graham Dance Company from 1998 to 2017. January 2022.

16. This image is published in Graham's autobiography Blood Memory, 1991, p.229.

17. Lorca's stay in New York - In June 1929, Lorca began his journey to New York with Fernando de los Ríos (who latter would be appointed Spanish ambassador to the United States during the Civil War) via Paris and London. They met the poet and Hispanist Mathilde Pomés in Paris, and Salvador de Madariaga in Oxford, where they had dinner together with Helen Grant. On the 25th, they reached New York aboard the Olympic and Lorca stayed at the Furnald Hall of Columbia University where he enrolled in an English course. In New York, Lorca met people who would be key influences in his work and life. He quickly met the writer Nella Larsen who gave him a copy of *Passing*, which she had just published. He also met the journalist and expert in Spanish literature Mildred Adams, who during the Spanish Civil War, would become a member of the executive boards of the American Friends of Spanish Democracy and the Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign. She would also advise the New World Re-Settlement Fund for Spanish Relief, and, after Lorca's death, she would contribute to his biography, providing details of the poet's stay in the United States. Lorca befriends Henry Herschel Brickell, editor and literary critic of the New York Herald, who took an interest in *Poet in New York,* which Lorca was writing at that time. Brickell's home became the meeting place for Spaniards and Hispanists in the city. Lorca also wrote the film script *Voyage to the Moon* in collaboration with Emilio Armero. With Federico de Onís and Ángel del Río, he used to visit Wall Street at night and went on excursions to Harlem with John Crow and Francis C. Hayes. He later met Hart Crane. He was there when the New York Stock Exchange declared the first losses before the final crash that later triggered the Great Depression. He also visited Gabriel García Maroto's exhibition *Magic Spain*, which opened at Alma Red's Delphic Studios on the 18th November 1929.

When, on the 10th of February of 1930, he gave his lecture *Three Types of Poetry*, organized by the Instituto de las Españas at the Philosophy Hall of Columbia University, the Cuban anthropologist Fernando Ortiz, who was working in Harlem, conveys to him that the Institución Hispano-Cubana de Cultura wishes to invite him to the island to continue his lectures. One of them would be *Architecture of Deep Song*. On the 6th of March 1930, Lorca boarded a ferry in Key West, Florida, to Havana.

18. Many facts are still missing about the assassination of Lorca, but it likely took place on the night of August 18th or 19th August 1936, by Franco's rebel troops. At the time, the Spanish actress Margarita Xirgu was touring Latin America, staging Lorca's plays. The plan was that Lorca would meet with her in Mexico, but he stayed in Spain, aware of his sentimental life and in the middle of writing *The House of Bernarda Alba*. Xirgu heard of Lorca's death just before performing *Yerma* (1934), a play about a woman so desperate to have children that, in an attack of fury, she kills her husband. Grief-stricken by Lorca's death, Xirgu changes the woman's lament, from "Yes, I've killed him. I've killed my son" to "Yes, they've killed him. They've killed my son." Lorca had left the manuscript of *Poet in New York* on the desk of José Bergamín, director of the publishing house *Cruz y Raya*, together with a note in which he promised to return soon.

19. Cento Federico Garcia Lorca - The pictorial frieze outcome of this project, was symbolically presented last 17th of March 2022 at The Centro Federico Garcia Lorca in Granada, the city where the poet organized *The Deep Song Contest*[4] just a century ago in 1922: https://www.centrofedericogarcialorca.es/es/actividades/exposiciones/367/ensayo-deep-song-lola-lasurt. The Federico García Lorca Centre is a cultural institution inaugurated on 29 July 2015 aimed at research into the life and work of the poet from Granada, as well as the dissemination of his literary production. The main objective of its construction was to preserve the poet's legacy from the García Lorca Foundation, presided over by the poet's heirs. It is also a space expressly conceived to house all kinds of contemporary artistic events, with an auditorium, exhibition rooms and a library with manuscripts of García Lorca's legacy and those of different authors, among others documents and books. The centre is managed by a consortium made up of the Spanish Government Ministry of Culture, the Andalusian Regional Government Department of Culture, the Granada City Council and the Granada Provincial Council. Laura García-Lorca De los Ríos functions as its director until the imminent open call to appoint a new one.

fig.14

CHILDREN'S GAME

Chapter III: On ***Exposició Miró*** [Miro's Show], Joan Miró, Barcelona, 1968

Group of 9 oil paintings on canvas, group of 10 ceramics, three video-animations in loop, 3 photos on aluminium (different sizes)/ book (edition of 700)

Project presented at La Capella Art Centre, Barcelona, June - September 2021

In this chapter there are images of various archival material collected along the research implicit in this third part and project of this MPhil. There are also pictures taken at the studio where I developed the work. These images complement my narration. At the end, there is a view of the project installation.

Joan Miro's first retrospective in a public institution in Spain in 1968 seemed to certify a cultural aperture during the last years of the country's dictatorship (1939-1979). Miró was already seventy-five years old and a more than consecrated global genius, having already had a major retrospective exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York (1941), having taken part in *Le Surréalisme en 1947: Exposition internationale du surréalisme* at the Galerie Maeght in Paris, organised by André Breton and Marcel Duchamp (1947), having had additional retrospectives at both the French Musée National d'Art Moderne (1962) and the National Museum of Art in Tokyo (1966), and been awarded an honorary doctorate by Harvard University (1968). But, after the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939), he only had one solo show at home, titled *Miró. Homage Exhibition* (1949) at a private gallery in Barcelona, the Galerías Layetanas, programmed by the short-lived magazine *Cobalto 49*, which was published between 1949 and 1951[1].

Miró had exhibited works at the Pavilion of the Spanish Republic[2], an improvised design by the modern architects Josep Lluís Sert and Luis Lacasa installed at the Paris World Fair while the war raged in Spain. He took part in that international staging with a now lost large mural painting titled *The Reaper (Catalan Peasant in Revolt)*, shown together with Picasso's *Guernica*. Miró would also later support various anti-fascist movements and events that took place in the early sixties, becoming a real threat to the tight grip Franco had imposed to the country. The dictator, however, was dumbfounded by the overwhelming international success of Spanish abstract art and the way its artists were able to open a market which was gathering increasing support all over the world. On October 12, 1951, Hispanic Heritage Day or Columbus Day (in commemoration of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus in 1492), Franco and the accredited diplomatic corps inaugurated, in Madrid, the First Spanish-American Art Biennial (*I Bienal Hispanoamericana de Arte*), organised by the Institute of Hispanic Culture. The Biennial

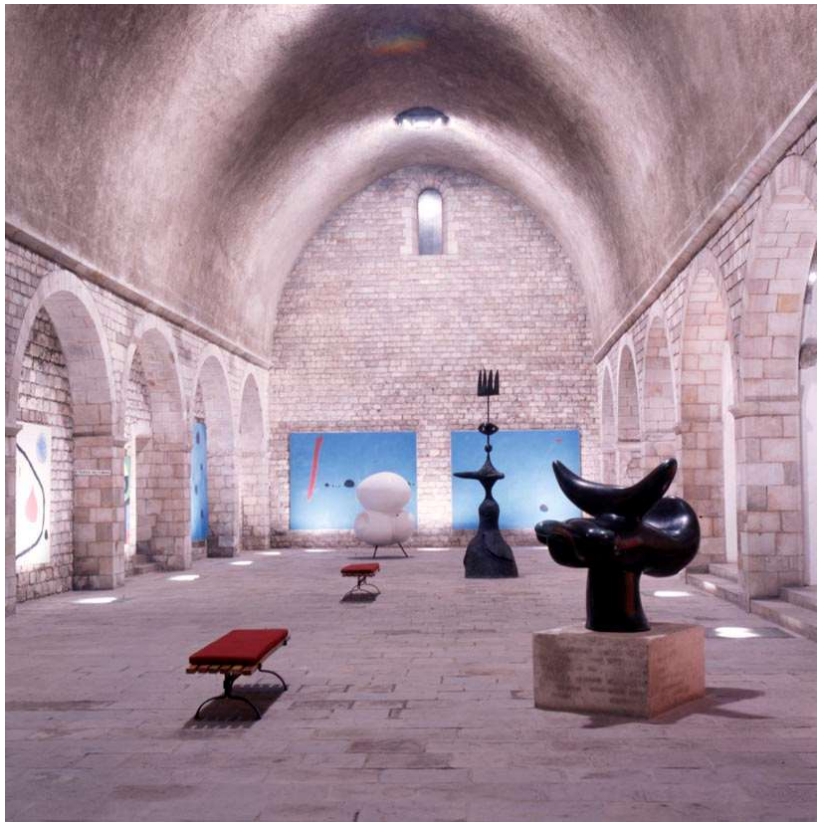


fig.1

was an initiative by Manuel Fraga (then, the Institute of Hispanic Culture general secretary) and Alfredo Sánchez Bella (Minister of Information and Tourism, before Fraga). According to the Informalist painter Antoni Tapies, when the dictator visited the exhibition, someone commented to him in relation to the gallery being packed with abstract paintings: "Your Excellency, this is the room of the revolutionaries". And the dictator replied with an anecdotic but key phrase in recent Spanish art history: "…as long as they make revolutions in this way"[3]. Abstract art made its way in Spain when, after the end of the Second World War, the debacle of fascist rhetoric forced the dictator to soften up the regime's stiffness in order to survive.

Miro's retrospective, commissioned by Barcelona City Hall, supported by The Information and Tourism Ministry, and curated by Jacques Dupin[4], was then finally inaugurated on November 19th, 1968, and programmed to last for two months ***fig.1***. A total of 396 works were exhibited at the big medieval complex of the Antic Hospital de la Santa Creu in Barcelona's old historical centre, with 15 pieces freshly executed that same year. Among them, there was the celebrated triptych *Painting on white background for the cell of a recluse* (May, 1968)[5], which was initially titled *Painting for the cell of a recluse* before changing it to *Mural Painting for the cell of a solitary,* in a preventive move that sensed the potential intervention of the regime's censorship machine***fig.2***. All recently completed works were displayed at *La Capella*, the old hospital Chapel, the only part of the building which is still nowadays used as a contemporary art venue with a permanent annual site-specific open call[6].

Miró did not attend the inauguration alleging his doctor advised against it (and to avoid the presence of the regime's authorities: Manuel Fraga Iribarne, appointed minister of information and tourism in 1962[7], and Laureano López Rodó, Minister of Foreign Affairs), and yet, a series of news clippings noted that he appeared a few days later, when three thousand children visited the exhibition ***fig.3***, an event programmed in collaboration with an organised group of primary schools[8]. I am especially interested in this provocative act, that is, to be seen with young school children and not with politicians.

Miró's exhibition ended on January 19th, 1969. That very same night, at dawn, antifascist law student Enrique Ruano died at the hands of the police in Madrid. That incident sparked student and worker anger ***fig.4*** and served as an excuse for Franco's regime to declare, shortly after, a two-month state of emergency ***fig.5***. It was the first and only time, after the war ended, that something like this was nationally declared in Spain, not until the one imposed in 2020 because of the pandemic, at the time I started the research for this chapter[9]. In an interview in 2009, Ruano's sister, Margot Ruano, during a special homage to his brother at the Complutense

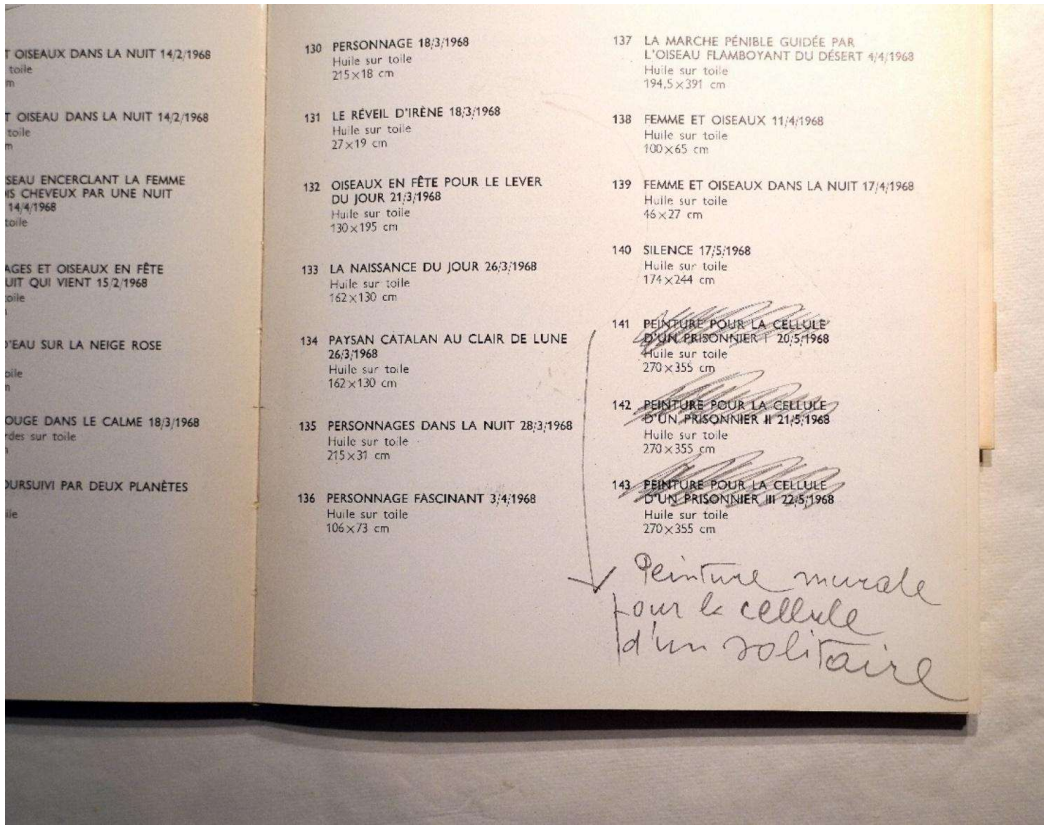


fig.2

"EL NOTICIERO UNIVERSAL"

"EL NOTICIERO UNIVERSAL"
30 de noviembre de 1968

MIRÓ RODEADO DE 3.000 NIÑOS

LOS ESCOLARES DE BARCELONA VISITARON ESTA MAÑANA SU EXPOSICION

En el antiguo Hospital de la Santa Cruz reinaba esta mañana una animación extraordinaria de pequeños escolares. ¿Motivo?: la visita de niños y niñas de las escuelas municipales de Barcelona a la exposición de Joan Miró recientemente inaugurada en aquel recinto.

El pintor Joan Miró llegó al antiguo Hospital de la Santa Cruz a las diez y cuarto de la mañana, siendo recibido con una ensordecedora salva de aplausos que le tributaron los escolares barceloneses. El artista se vio inmediatamente rodeado de niños. La labor de los informadores gráficos se hizo difícil ante la enorme avalancha infantil. Joan Miró, entre empujones, y abriéndose paso como pudo, llegó hasta una de sus telas, y explicó a los niños el significado de la misma. Luego fue recorriendo las distintas salas que componen su exposición, recibiendo en todas ellas los aplausos de los escolares que le aguardaban.

Se nos informó en la secretaría de la Exposición que esta visita responde a la invitación cursada por el Ayuntamiento de la ciudad a los distintos grupos escolares de Barcelona, y que durante la mañana de hoy desfilaron por la Exposición Miró tres mil escolares, acompañados de sus respectivos profesores. En días sucesivos se irán distribuyendo pases de libre entrada a todos los colegios y entidades culturales que lo soliciten.

J. P. (Foto Morales)

fig.3

SOLIDARIDAD NACIONAL
DIARIO SINDICALISTA

N.º 9.303. Año XXXI. D. Legal: B. 339-1958. Prensa y Radio del Movimiento. A. Generalísimo, 142. Madrid. TRES PESETAS

Barcelona, sábado 18 de enero de 1969

Redacción, Administración y Talleres C. de Ciento, 202. — Teléfono 253 79 8[illegible] DIRECTOR: Clemente Pamplona Blasco

Por decisión de la Junta de Gobierno

ANTE GRAVISIMOS ACTOS CONTRA EL RECTORADO

E importantes desperfectos, valorados en medio millón de pesetas

(Información en página 16)

«DIALOGO, NO»

Los hechos concretos los encontrará gráficamente expresados el lector en otras páginas de este número. A los gritos de "Diálogo, no" "Violencia, sí", un centenar escaso de delincuentes matriculados como estudiantes en las distintas Facultades de nuestra Universidad, amparados por la paternidad de unas medidas de amplia apertura y tolerancia otorgadas por quien tiene la autoridad para hacerlo, con todos los agravantes previstos en cualquier Código, asaltaron las dependencias y despacho del Rector. Una vez allí, amparados —repetimos— por la impunidad, cobardemente encubiertos por la fuerza del número, atacaron físicamente al doctor Albadalejo, amenazándole con la defenestración, profanaron la enseña nacional, izaron tres banderas con el emblema de la hoz y el martillo y arrojaron a la calle un busto de S. E. el Jefe del Estado Español.

Esto es, en síntesis, lo que dio de sí la jornada de ayer en nuestra Universidad. Muy poco como balance de trabajo; mucho, muchísimo, como lección, si queremos aprender, de una vez, el significado verdadero de la ya endémica algarada estudiantil.

A nadie y mucho menos a nosotros, puede sorprender el desarrollo de los actuales acontecimientos universitarios que en la jornada del viernes adquirieron en Barcelona significativa virulencia. Y no nos puede sorprender porque confirman las razones que los promueven que son, sin duda alguna, de índole totalmente extrauniversitarias.

En la Universidad española, esa Universidad —despolitizada por ciertos gallos que hoy cantan en bien distintos gallineros— faltó de algún tiempo a esta parte algo que agrupará a esa mayoría sana de estudiantes que, en buena ley, son verdaderamente universitarios. Una mayoría que se siente acogotada por grupos de agitadores, pero que sufre en su propia carne las consecuencias de un estado de cosas provocado por esa minoría de delincuentes profesionales. ¿Qué son —nos preguntamos— cien activistas, perfectamente identificables por sus compañeros, para imponer la ley de su violencia? ¿Qué son ante los miles de estudiantes barceloneses, cuya única y justa aspiración es la del trabajo?

Creemos que es llegada la hora de que el estudiante barcelonés reconsidere el actual estado de cosas de su Universidad. Si tiene defectos, que los tiene, no es la violencia el camino más adecuado para encontrar soluciones. Piense el estudiante que su esencial deber no es tan solo el estudiar, sino el de procurar que nadie entorpezca su situación de privilegio que le permite en su futuro ocupar un puesto destacado en la sociedad. De puertas adentro, la Universidad es el hogar del universitario. Que no piense el estudiante en la remota posibilidad de unas jornadas de trabajo con unas aulas protegidas por los agentes de la autoridad. El acceso a la Universidad es totalmente libre: a nadie obliga. El hombre en su proyección al futuro tiene amplios campos que no son precisamente los de la Universidad. El que llega a ella es o debe ser, porque siente su llamada, porque lo dicta su vocación. Hay muchos cientos de miles de jóvenes españoles que, todavía hoy, encuentran cerradas las puertas de las Facultades para cursar una carrera que eleve su condición humana y social: son los hijos de nuestros trabajadores. Ellos sí que tienen perfecto derecho para la protesta. Y callan; callan, porque trabajan en el campo, en las fábricas, en los talleres.

Cuando muchos de los miembros activistas que pisotean banderas, emborronan paredes y claustros sagrados, asaltan despachos rectorales y ofenden de obra y de palabra a sus maestros; cuando esos grupos de activistas vuelven a sus colegios mayores, a sus casas burguesas, entre las dos luces del amanecer, después de la habitual orgía de cada noche, esos muchachos hijos de obreros esperan en la cola de cualquier medio de transporte para acudir puntualmente a la vida laboral de cada día, para ganarse el pan. ¿Qué se ganaron los "hijos de papá" en la jornada?. El desprecio de la sociedad. Y algún día, no lejano, las pedradas del joven, del hombre de bien, del que espera en la parada consciente de su deber y apóstol con su ejemplo.

No protestamos, porque sería inútil. Pero sí exigimos la abolición de escalas de ciudadanos a la hora de pedir responsabilidades. La Ley es una: la Ley es única, para todos. Un carnet de matriculado en cualquier Facultad, no es como patente de corso. Hay que pensar de ahora en adelante, más cuando los agitadores renuncian al diálogo en nombre de la libertad, que esa libertad es de todos. Que de todos es la calle y que de todos, mucho más que los ácratas delincuentes, es esa Universidad que no saben aprovechar o la aprovechan como altavoz de intereses extraños a la nación.

Esta es la lección que nos dicta la vergonzosa jornada de ayer en nuestra Universidad. Quisiéramos que lo antes posible vuelvan a abrirse las puertas de las Facultades. Pero más, mucho más, que se consiguiera lo que es posible: que sean los propios estudiantes los guardianes de la paz de los laboratorios, los responsables del silencio en las bibliotecas, los vigilantes del fecundo trabajo en las cátedras. Sus aspiraciones tienen perfectos cauces legales para lograrlas. Ahí sí que está su fuerza. Para el agitador el mejor argumento, el único, es el puntapié en sus cobardes posaderas.

LA UNIVERSIDAD DE BARCELONA, CERRADA

Por aquí pasó la horda. Y dejó su firma. La horda destrozó cobardemente el despacho del Rector Magnífico de nuestra Universidad. Y dejó de manera elocuente su clara filiación política. ¿Para qué más comentarios?. — (Foto C. Pérez de Rozas)

fig.4

University of Madrid, stated that the above-mentioned minister, Manuel Fraga Iribarne, phoned her parents threatening the family to arrest her, as well, for being politically active (Lejarcegi, 2009).

With this project, I am interested to shed light onto how Miró's retrospective took place at the cusp of a two-month suspension of civic life and press freedoms, a time when any critical voices were conspicuous by their absence. My aim is to rethink this event through writing this third and last chapter of my MPhil, and to do it, therefore, as a bridge to its conclusion.

***

The political State of Emergency issued in Spain in 1969 lasted until the 24th of March, while the regime would officially remain in power for another ten years. The first democratic elections after the war took place on the 3rd of April, 1979, with the victory of the UCD (Democratic Centre Union). The previous democratic elections, had been those celebrated on the 16th of February, 1936, won by the Popular Front, a coalition of left-wing forces, which obtained the parliamentary majority in the third general election of the Second Spanish Republic (provoking Franco's military uprising and civil war five months afterwards).

Children's Game addresses the socio-political turmoil of the late 1960s through the figure of Miró, whose work, in the later period of Franco's dictatorship, could be described as a common/collective "transitional object" — an artistic bridge between the old regime and modern democracy. A "transitional object" was a term used in 1971 (Winnicott,1971) by the English paediatrician and psychoanalyst D. W. Winnicott, who, inspired by the theories of Melanie Klein, described comforting objects—such as teddy bears, blankets or dolls— those that replace the mother-and-child bond, as a kind of sedative during certain events of the infant development/growth. In his article "Some Thoughts on the Meaning of the Word Democracy" (Winnicott,1950), he even compares the process of childhood development with the transition of dictatorial societies to democracy, claiming that neither can, in any case, be imposed. Certainly, Franco's regime did not end suddenly the day after the elections in 1979, and we often still feel its grip. Democracy is not established overnight. Meanwhile, we could think of this period as kind of acting like a "transitional object".

The title of the project is also chosen in reference to the ballet *Jeux d'enfants* [Children's Game] by the Ballets Russe de Monte-Carlo, performed at the Liceu (Barcelona's Opera House) in 1933 during the short democratic period that Spain enjoyed before the war. Georges Bizet, again

EL PORQUÉ DE UNAS MEDIDAS DE EXCEPCIÓN EN ESPAÑA

SOLIDARIDAD NACIONAL
DIARIO SINDICALISTA

Barcelona, sábado 25 de enero de 1969

ESTADO DE EXCEPCION EN TODA ESPAÑA

SOBRE LOS PERTURBADORES DE LA PAZ CAERA EL PESO DE LA LEY

Vamos a defender el derecho de los españoles, a estudiar, a trabajar y a vivir en paz

Quedar en suspenso cinco artículos del Fuero de los Españoles

ACUERDOS DEL CONSEJO DE MINISTROS

(Información en página dos)

ESPAÑA DICE ¡NO! A LA VIOLENCIA

Manifestaciones pro-checas, en Roma

La Prensa española juzga las recientes alteraciones del orden

(Información en último página)

MAÑANA, XXX ANIVERSARIO DE LA LIBERACION DE BARCELONA

PROGRESO Y PAZ, COMO MANIFESTACION DE JUSTICIA

Fe en el Caudillo, centinela permanente de la Patria

AMOR A ESPAÑA, SIMBOLIZADO EN LA BANDERA Y RESPETO Y ADMIRACION A NUESTRO EJERCITO

En la plaza de la Universidad, ágora de cultura, ratificación del mensaje de mesura y concordia

fig.5

(As the author of the opera *Carmen,* the subject of the first chapter of this MPhil[10]), composed the music for the ballet. The libretto was written by Borish Kochno and the sets and costumes were by Miró himself. The ballet revolved around the experience of a girl who finds her toys playing by themselves at night. ***fig.6***

Formally, the project presents a group 12 paintings (9 oil and acrylic paint on canvas and 3 digital ones, which are video-animations in a loop and projected on fabric screens that have been stretched on the same aluminium frames as the canvases), 3 photographs printed on raw aluminium, a group of ceramic objects and a book[11]. All the works make reference to Miró's show, which could be seen there, at that same venue but in 1968, at La Capella, the old hospital chapel ***fig.1***. To do so, historical research was conducted in order to know exactly which works were chosen by Miró to be installed inside the chapel. Curiously, in all the original show documentation I was able to consult (which was extensive and with all kinds of details and even price lists), there was not a single map of the installation, or a list and placement of the works. Thus, I had to reconstruct it from the few official photos that appeared repeatedly in the press, which did not include any panoramic images, and photos found in other archives of eclectic character and with their own acquisition policies. From month seven of my pregnancy until my daughter was four months old and confinement was imposed, I conducted research at the archives of the Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya (MNAC), the Barcelona Photographic Archive, the Historical Archive of the City of Barcelona, Barcelona's Contemporary Municipal Archive, National Archive of Catalonia (Joaquim Gomis Fund[12]) and Joan Miró Foundation library and archive. Finally, and after confinement, I was able to consult the personal archive (not institutionalised yet) of Rosa Maria Subirana, the coordinator of the show at only 26 years of age. In her eighties now, she was very kind to open her place to me, a nice flat in front of Gaudi's *La Pedrera,* in the middle of Idelfons Cerdà's square layout of Barcelona. Rosa Maria's father was also an important architect; Joan Baptista Subirana worked in close collaboration with Josep Lluís Sert, with whom he produced two works that remained the best exponents of rationalism in Barcelona: Casa Bloc [Bloc House] (1932-1936), based on Le Corbusier's housing project, and the Central Tuberculosis Dispensary (1934-1938). Both architects were members of the GATCPAC (Group of Catalan Architects and Technicians for the Progress of Contemporary Architecture), assembled in the 1930s as a Spanish branch of C.I.A.M. (Congrès internationaux d'architecture moderne), aimed at promoting the principles of the Modern Movement, with its focus on functional housing, conceived as a minimum-standard accommodation for workers.

Hanging on the walls of Rosa Maria's flat, there was a combination of his father's drafts and Miró's dedications. Together, we looked at all the boxes she had related to managing the show,

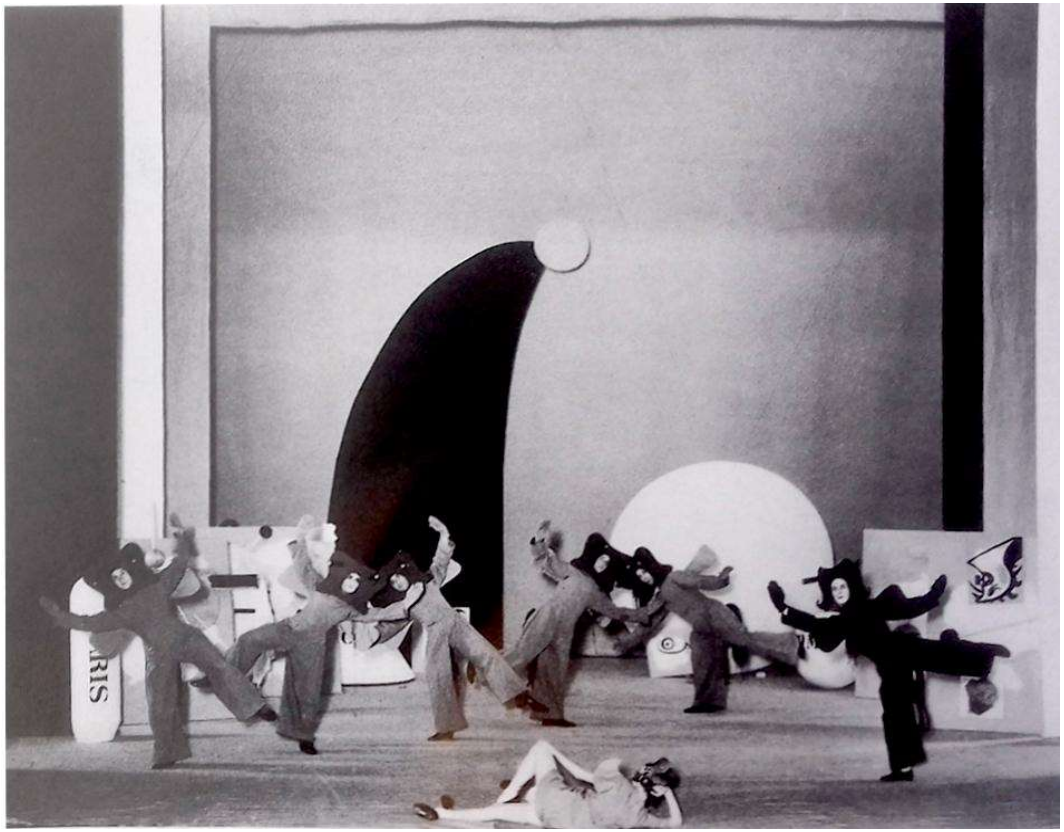


fig.6

with lots of working documents***fig.7***, some of them directly intervened by Miró (as the catalogue where he indicated the titles he changed), slide sheets and photo albums with images I had not seen anywhere before***fig.8***. In 1968, Subirana worked as curator for the museums of Barcelona, in other words, she was the only person in the city council that was hired to address contemporary art during the last decade of Franco's regime and, thus, she is a first-hand witness to that early period of institutional management of contemporary art that existed in the country. Under the instruction of the Barcelona City Council, Subirana meticulously inventoried the holdings of the first collections of contemporary art donated to the city. She did that inventory of different private collections that later turned into the Picasso Museum (nowadays, the most visited museum in Barcelona, which Subirana directed between 1966 and 1983), and the most noteworthy donation that Miró made to the city in 1971 ***fig.11***. Miró and his wife donated part of the works presented in the exhibition at La Capella; they were later moved to the MNAC collection with the promise that the city would build and maintain the artist's Foundation in Barcelona, which opened in 1975. Miró added another condition, that Josep Luís Sert should be its architect, the same architect that designed the Spanish Pavilion in Paris in 1937 and the Casa Bloc, built in collaboration with the GATCPAC group. Rosa Maria Subirana also coordinated *Miró's Year* ***fig.9***, which included programming his retrospective, as well as other activities, like the placement of a plaque in the Passatge del Crèdit (where Miró was born) ***fig.10*** and the Joan Miró Award for Children. At her flat, she had three rooms' full of documentation and confessed to me she was looking for somebody to help her with her inventory. Whilst I was personally unable to commit myself to the enormous task of organising her amazing archival materials, I invited her to join me in a public conversation that I titled *From Miró Year (1968) to the Donation Inventory*, which took place, of course, at La Capella.[13]

Once the list of paintings, ceramics and sculptures on display at *Miro's show* in 1968 became clear, I decided, in response, to do a group of works preserving the title, size, and position in space, just as Miró had them then. I also created a group of ceramic pieces which, by force, had to be smaller than his, since they were produced in my flat during confinement. Margot would be relaxed in her Baby Bouncer Bliss next to me, while I was modelling clay for a week; she could be happy there, demanding no attention for intervals of at least twenty minutes. In the end, I also had to reduce the size of the paintings referring to Miró's two big mural triptychs *Blue I, II & III* and *Painting on white background for the cell of a recluse*. I had to scale them down 20% from the measurements Miró established originally, since he worked them in his studio in Mallorca, and I had to get mine through my studio door in Manresa. Thankfully, I was able to bring the stretchers to the studio before the three months of strict confinement. That

fig.7

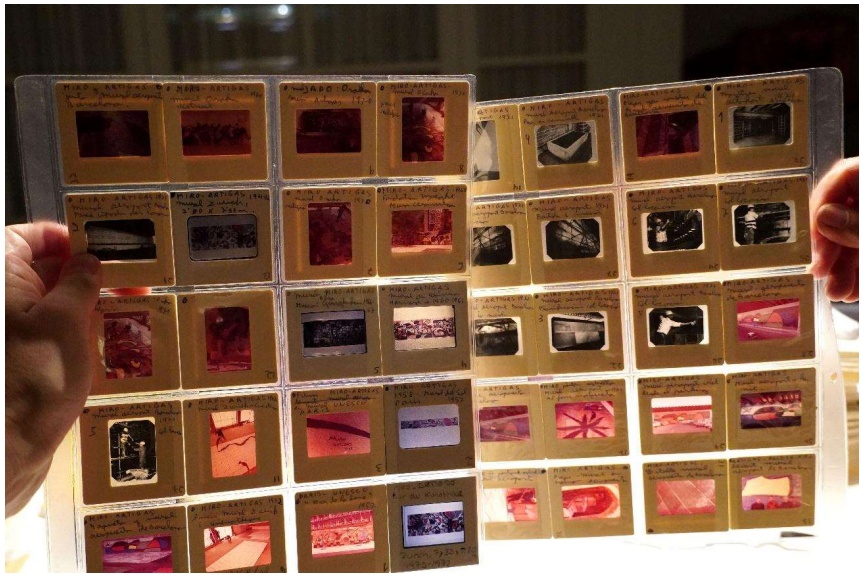


fig.8

figs.9

figs.10

way, I had the opportunity to work on the paintings from time to time, as it was easy for me to escape to my next-door building basement, the same one described in the previous chapter, and that I use as my studio. I suppose that if I had not been able to enter the stretchers inside the studio before the confinement, the show would have been suspended and everybody would have understood the reasons for such a decision. The ceramics were completed during the third week of confinement when the world news seemed apocalyptic, when hospital staff became superheroes, and all global pain felt as if it was the result of inhabiting a strange comfort zone that made us act slower and fear the possibilities of an uncertain future. I feared, for instance, getting separated from a child who cried furiously if my nurturing breast was not available and near her. Margot immensely enjoyed having us there, all day at home, and not having to go to the nursery that she started attending just one month before. I spent the first week of confinement in bed with the flu before my partner followed me and got sick the week after. And to top it all off, at the beginning of the fourth week, I started teaching colour theory from home.

***

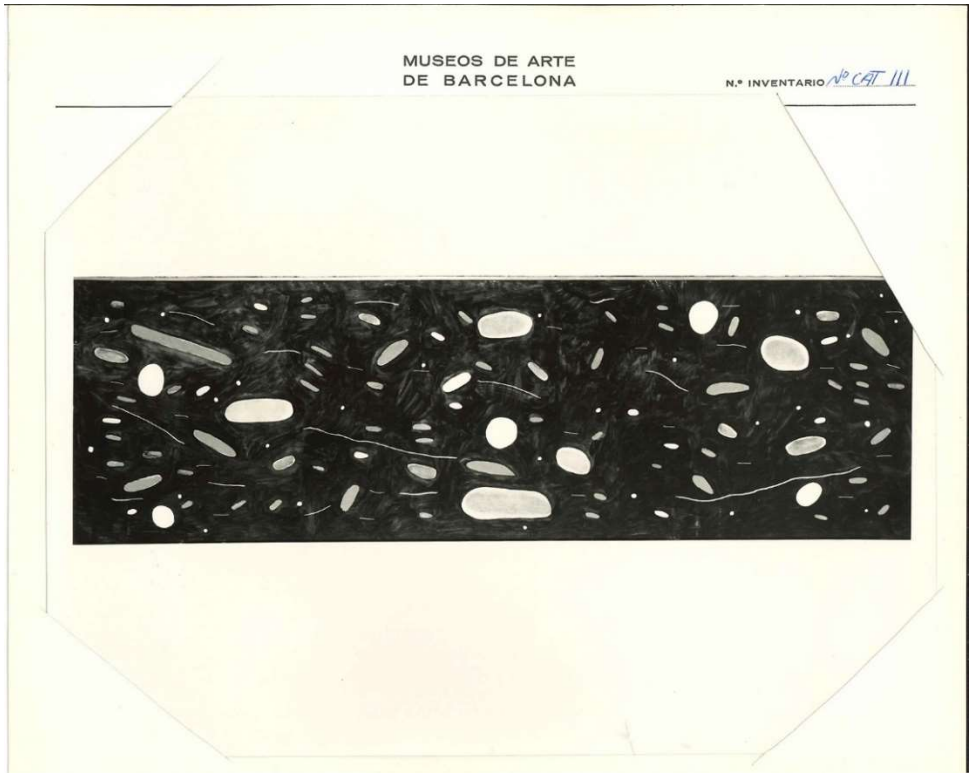
The paintings, thus, connect a dual sense of transition: two periods of exception, at once political and developmental. While working on the canvases, I collected articles that appeared in the national newspapers during the state of emergency of 1969[14]— different facts, often relating to infancy, such as an article about a baby hippopotamus named Abrazos (Hugs). I portrayed Abrazos as a substitution for Miró's *Catchy Star* (1968). In the context of a double censorship (the one related to the state of emergency and that which Franco's regime enforced daily), the press was only publishing pleasant things: funny and absurd children's stories. None of the relevant news, of any courageous actions against the regime, were printed.

There were also plenty of supplement pages dedicated to the DIY crafts, with glossy and very appealing images in black and white. I substituted one of the two triptychs, *Blue I, II & III* (1961), with three images from a step-by-step article instructing the readers on how to make a felt toy ***fig.14***. And I also substituted *Catalan Peasant in Moonlight* (1968) with a digital painting animation, depicting an amusing character made out of rope and holding a cigarette butt in its hand.

I attached to each painting, adopting the title and format of one of Miró's paintings in La Capella, a reproduction of the registrar's file ***figs.12&13*** that documents the work. In 1968, the city council commissioned several Italian photographers who were highly specialised

Fig.8

fig.11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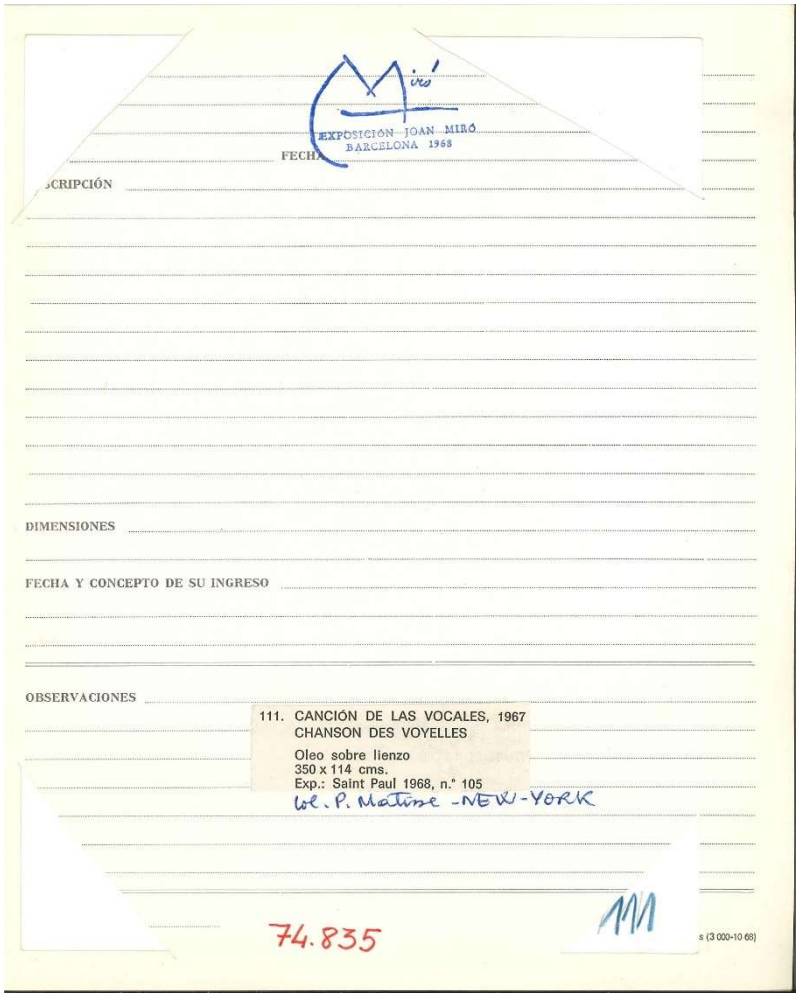
DE BARCELONA
N.º INVENTARIO Nº CAT 111


EXPOSICIÓN JOAN MIRÓ
BARCELONA 1968
FECHA
CRIPCIÓN
DIMENSIONES
FECHA Y CONCEPTO DE SU INGRESO
OBSERVACIONES
111. CANCIÓN DE LAS VOCALES, 1967
CHANSON DES VOYELLES
Oleo sobre lienzo
350 x 114 cms.
Exp.: Saint Paul 1968, n.º 105
Col. P. Matisse -NEW-YORK
74.835
111

figs.12&13

in art documentation to take pictures of each piece of art inside the exhibition venue. The result, a beautiful example of transmedia practice, was a precious collection of analogue black and white photos of Miró's work. Scanned reproductions of these photographs were used as labels in my intervention, printed on aluminium sheets of 21x 29cm and set next to each painting.

My intervention was also conceived as a painting experiment in colour, giving visitors a sense of 'physiological' or 'absent colours' that can only be seen when a certain intense colour saturates our overall view. When it happens, our unique perceptive system is able to create and detect auras of complementary hues (opposite colours in the chromatic circle) in the process of achieving a type of visual equilibrium. This phenomenon is what justifies my use of the fluorescent green of the paintings' backgrounds and the magenta filter of the illumination. So far, while referring to absent historical episodes, my intention has been, therefore, to unleash also perceptive experiences based on theories about absent or physiological (also called subjective) colours, which are linked to both the colour palette of French painter Eugène Delacroix and the colour theory of German writer Johann Wolfgang von Goethe[15]. My aim was to create an environment in which colour interaction could be clearly observed. In that colour interaction, each colour is basically influenced by the colour it has nearby, as Joseph Alberts was able to demonstrate at Black Mountain College with his *The Climate of Colour,* exploiting a gap between what is physically happening and what humans perceive.

In this sense, I showed the two mural triptychs from 1968 in combination with two analogue paintings and a digital one, all of the same size; the colour light of the digital painting falls onto the analogue ones. In the analogue paintings, colour is applied directly to the canvas, while the digital one is in black and white, scanned, and coloured digitally during the editing process of the animation. The photographs have been printed on untreated raw aluminium, which produces a mirror effect, bouncing the light of the space back from the images/works, forcing them to be perceived in a vaguer way. These formal decisions, in which the images play with the light of the space, affecting the viewers perception of what is visually there, is also explored in my project *Mourning for the Black Spain,* a work that I analyse in the first chapter of this MPhil.

In one of the two side chapels inside La Capella, I displayed ten small ceramic pieces representing children's toys and some recurrent imaginary characters that appeared in

Winnicott's last book *Playing and Reality* (1971) ***fig.15***. The use of ceramic is in reference to the clay figures exhibited by Miró in 1968.


DISEÑO

OBJETOS PARA LA DECORACION

Creaciones OYO

Hay en la actualidad algunos objetos que sin tener demasiada importancia, dan ambiente y complementan la decoración de determinada pieza de nuestro hogar, infinidad de cosas que por su sencillez dan esa nota de cálida intimidad, cosas, que una por una no nos solucionarían absolutamente nada, pero que agrupadas con determinados elementos pueden llegar a adquirir un indiscutible valor.

En toda decoración moderna, no sólo deben incluirse esos pequeños detalles sino que deben considerarse imprescindibles.

Importantes interioristas del momento actual, tienen en sus locales de venta y exposición una gran aglomeración de estas pequeñas cosas, ante las cuales se puede pasar infinidad de tiempo sin saber cuál de ellas elegir ante la disparidad de temas y elementos cuya nota más importante es el color.

El color es efectivamente lo predominante, la agrupación de ellos hace que una pieza sea agradable o no.

La utilidad no puede buscarse en ellas ni creo que el creador intente hacerlo, en estos casos lo esencial es lograr un impacto, intentar que las personas fijen su interés en determinado detalle al que antes no hubiéramos concedido ninguna importancia.

Muchos de ellos pueden hacerse en casa, un olvidado pedazo de tela al que damos una forma adecuada, unas flores recortadas de vivos colores, unas cuerdas, hilo, dedal, aguja y a «crear».

Pequeños seres de todo ese mundo infantil salen de manos expertas que dan vida y movimiento a estos simples elementos, logrando resultados sorprendentes que encantan no sólo a niños sino a mayores.

Oyo, ya con profesionalidad lo enfoca de deliciosa manera creando diferentes modelos a cual más llenos de gracia y vida.

En realidad no importa que tengan o no determinada utilidad, lo mejor es que gustan y pueden solucionarnos no sólo a nosotros sino a cualquier entendido en decoración cualquier insignificante pero a la vez gran problema, el de conseguir un alegre, joven y moderno ambiente.

Original personaje logrado a base de fieltro y piel, nos admira la expresión lograda con tan sencillos materiales

Un humilde pedazo de cuerda, es base principal para la creación de este «raro», pero a la vez simpático muñeco; confinua empleándose el fieltro para conseguir la sensación de vida y movimiento

Muñeco conseguido con la unión de varios sencillos elementos que dan por resultado un objeto realmente gracioso para la decoración

Con fieltro, de varios colores, rafia, un pedazo de tela estampado y un poco de imaginación, se consigue este delicioso animalito digno de ocupar un sitio preferente en cualquier habitación infantil

fig.14

I accompanied each ceramic piece with a caption and included an excerpt from Winnicott's book, in which children describe their toys (also printed on raw aluminium). This is the excerpt with the objects I represented in ceramic highlighted in bold:

> From twelve months he adopted **a rabbit** which he would cuddle, and his affectionate regard for the rabbit eventually transferred to real rabbits. This particular rabbit lasted till he was five or six years old. It could be described as a comforter, but it never had the true quality of a transitional object. It was never, as a true transitional object would have been, more important than the mother, an almost inseparable part of the infant.
>
> He was pleased if a little bit of the wool stuck out at the corner and with this he would tickle his nose. This very early became his 'Baa'; he invented this word for it himself as soon as he could use organised sounds. From the time when he was about a year old he was able to substitute for the end of the blanket **a soft green jersey with a red tie**. This was not a 'comforter' as in the case of the depressive older brother, but a 'soother'. It was a sedative which always worked. This is a typical example of what I am calling a transitional object. When Y was a little boy it was always certain that if anyone gave him his 'Baa' he would immediately suck it and lose anxiety, and in fact he would go to sleep within a few minutes if the time for sleep were at all near.
>
> Angus (eleven years nine months) told me that his brother 'has tons of teddies and things' and 'before that he had little bears', and he followed this up with a talk about his own history. He said he never had teddies. There was a bell rope that hung down, a tag end of which he would go on hitting, and so go off to sleep. Probably in the end it fell, and that was the end of it. There was, however, something else. He was very shy about this. It **was a purple rabbit with red eyes**. 'I wasn't fond of it. I used to throw it around. Jeremy has it now, I gave it to him. I gave it to Jeremy because it was naughty. It would fall off the chest of drawers. It still visits me. I like it to visit me.'
>
> He has **a number of teddy bears** which to him are children. No one dares to say that they are toys. He is loyal to them, expends a great deal of affection over them, and makes trousers for them, which involves careful sewing. His father says that he seems to get a sense of security from his family, which he mothers in this way. If visitors come, he quickly puts them all into his sister's bed, because no one outside the family must know that he has this family.
>
> 'I didn't really believe that there was **an angel** standing by my bed; on the other hand, I used to have **an eagle** chained to my wrist.' This certainly did feel real to her and the accent was on the words 'chained to my wrist'. She also had **a white horse** which was as real as possible and she 'would ride it to anywhere and hitch it to a tree and all that sort of thing'.
>
> She described various techniques for dealing with separation; for instance: **a paper spider** and pulling the legs off for every day that her mother was away.
>
> The mother was able to tell me the exact significant moment at two years five months when Edmund had started stammering, after which he gave up talking 'because the stammer frightened him'. While she and I were going through with a consultation situation about herself and about him, Edmund placed some **small train parts** on the table and was arranging them and making them join up and relate. He was only two feet away from his mother.

fig.15

Out of the muddle there he brought **a tangle of string**. The mother (undoubtedly affected by his choice of string, but not conscious of the symbolism) made the remark: 'At his most non-verbal Edmund is most clinging, needing contact with my actual breast, and needing my actual lap.' At the time when the stammer began, he had been starting to comply, but he had reverted to incontinence along with the stammer, and this was followed by abandonment of talking.

> I suddenly put my ear to the teddy bear in my pocket and I said: 'I heard him say something!' She was very interested in this. I said: 'I think he wants someone to play with,' and I told her about **the woolly lamb** that she would find if she looked at the other end of the room in the mess of toys under the shelf.

On the other side chapel, where Miró's 1968 triptych *Painting on White Background for the Cell of a Recluse* was hung (with Miró's auto-censored title *Mural Painting for the Cell of a Solitary*), I displayed a triptych that made reference to a newspaper clipping with the caption *Copito de nieve ¿Personaje de Marcel Proust?* [Snowflake, a Marcel Proust Character?], published in Tele/eXprés, on January 22nd, 1969. It reports that *Snowflake,* the famed and much-beloved albino gorilla in Barcelona's zoo, had now an "official girlfriend with big dreamy eyes", who distracted him and, hopefully, moved him away from his tight relationship with a male companion ***fig.16***.

The three separate monumental-size photos mounted on aluminium panels in the main space were based on snapshots of the three public sculptures that Miró produced for and donated to Barcelona: one to welcome visitors arriving to the city by air (the large ceramic mural at the airport ***fig.17***), another those arriving by sea (the floor mosaic on La Rambla's Pla de l'Os), and a third for those arriving by road (unrealised and planned for the Jardins Cervantes; later to become *Woman and Bird* (1983) in the Parc Joan Miró). I took these images on the second anniversary of the 2017 (August, 17th) terrorist attack at La Rambla, linking his donations to a period of democratic disenchantment and to a contemporary moment of unknown transformation. As outlined at the end of the first chapter of this MPhil, the van driven by Younes Abouyaaqoub, aged 22, stopped right on Miró's floor mosaic on La Rambla's Pla de l'Os ***fig.18***.

The publication accompanying the project includes all those archival materials that were gathered during the research and its conceptualisation. It is organised chronologically and includes newspaper clippings published during the state of emergency in 1969, offering a partial glimpse at that period of forced silence and absences.

COPITO DE NIEVE

¿PERSONAJE DE MARCEL PROUST?

NO HA HABIDO ERROR EN EL, SINO EN SU COMPAÑERO «MUNI»

YA TIENE NOVIA OFICIAL Y SE LLAMA «FANENGUI»

Esta es su novia oficial. Ojos grandes y soñadores.

«Copito de nieves, como todos los famosos, ya tiene su leyenda y no es precisamente tan blanca como su pelo. Se había dicho que no era un macho, sino una hembra coqueta que siente especial predilección por sus compañeras de sexo. Y, claro, al simio blanco se le miraba con recelo por las diferencias que otorgaba a Muni, la gorila que debía ser la madre de sus hijos. Los técnicos del «Zoo» han descubierto haber sido víctimas de un error, pero no con «Copito» sino con Muni», que no es una hembra como se creía, sino un macho que desde ahora se llama Muni. Pero no hay que alarmarse porque los dos gorilas tienen cuatro años y media y en su especie la necesidad de convivencia íntima se manifiesta entre los siete y los nueve años.

—Desde que «Copito de nieves» fue capturado en Río Muni, en 1966, se tiene la seguridad de que es macho. Estos animales son muy afectuosos y necesitan compañía porque de lo contrario, se entristecen, no comen y mueren. Por eso se pensó ponerle a su lado una bonita hembra para que no se acostumbre a estar siempre entre machos. En los simios jóvenes, como en las aves, es difícil determinar el sexo. De ahí la confusión habida con «Muni».

Doña Rosario Nos, licenciada en Biología y zoóloga del Parque continúa:

—En los animales cautivos se da la homosexualidad y no hay que retrasar el instante de separar a «Copito» de «Muni», pero como los que conocemos la idiosincrasia y biología de estos animales sabemos que la soledad les afectaría mucho, estamos esperando que una gorila esté lo suficiente desarrollada para que sea la compañera de «Copito». El problema actual está en separarlos. Como llevan dos años y medio juntos se quieren y se comprenden bien.

Expreso mi sorpresa porque en ese largo tiempo los veterinarios podían haberse dado cuenta antes del error. La señora Nos me da el nombre de la novia oficial del simio albino. Se llama «Fanengui». Yo no quisiera estar en el pellejo de la pobre y plácida «Fanengui» que tiene que hacer feliz y complacer, con perfecta naturalidad, a «Copito», que siente inclinación, aunque sea infantil, por el duro y enérgico «Muni».

PRUEBAS

«Copito» es nervioso, improvisador, irascible, miedoso e irreflexivo. «Muni» es pausado, observador, astuto, espontáneo y calculador. No creen ustedes que estas observaciones no tienen ninguna base científica. Desde el pasado mes de abril los dos gorilas son sometidos diariamente a unas cien pruebas psicológicas para medir su inteligencia y analizar su comportamiento. También están sujetos a un riguroso estudio hematológico y de crecimiento.

Los tests de inteligencia consisten en diferenciar objetos de diferentes tamaños, color y forma. Debajo del que deben identificar se pone un premio consistente en un trocito de plátano, pera, galleta, o unas pasas.

—El albinismo es un carácter recesivo que se transmite por vía paterna exclusivamente. Es posible que no sólo influya en la fisiología de «Copito», sino también en su inteligencia.

Cuando hayamos terminado el análisis podremos asegurar si «Copito» posee una inteligencia superior o inferior de la habitual en los gorilas —Se ha dicho que «Copito» es subnormal.

La señora Nos se enfada ligeramente.

—No lo creo. Ahora es prematuro asegurarlo. Al principio de las pruebas «Muni» le superaba. Después iban iguales y ahora empieza a sobresalir «Copito». Llevamos más de mil tests, pero son insuficientes.

CARACTER

Dicen que el simio blanco lo tiene en poco especial. Es posible que este animal nazca, por su aspecto insólito y por una deficiencia visual que disminuye sus facultades ópticas, un trato ingrato de los componentes de la manada. Estas circunstancias le han forjado un carácter caprichoso y apático y es muy sensible a las muestras de cariño y atención.

El comportamiento de «Copito» es diferente al de sus hermanos de raza. Según el juego, que es lo que caracteriza a estos animales, en algunos aspectos «Copito» parece inferior. «Muni» domina siempre la situación y lleva la iniciativa, menos a la hora de posar ante el fotógrafo. «Copito» sube que es una «vedette» de la Prensa y del público en general y no consiente que «Muni» esté a su lado cuando ve una cámara.

Por cierto, las experiencias que se realizan con él están patrocinadas por la Universidad norteamericana de Tubane, de la ciudad de Covington, del estado de Louisiana. No hay que olvidar que nuestro simio es, con toda seguridad, el único caso documentado de albinismo total en gorilas y chimpancés.

Para lo importante, hoy, es su honor. De momento, no se puede dudar de su buena reputación.

Lolita SANCHEZ
(Fotos Nicolás G.)

Para «Copito de Nieve» se avecina una nueva época. Ha de pasar de «Muni» a «Fanengui». Solución quizás no tan fácil, aunque a través del cristal, ella y él se contemplan tiernamente, porque parece que «Muni», el amigo macho de «Copito», la persigue constantemente. Y eso a pesar de la expresiva irascibilidad

30 - TeleleXpres, 22 de enero de 1969

fig.16

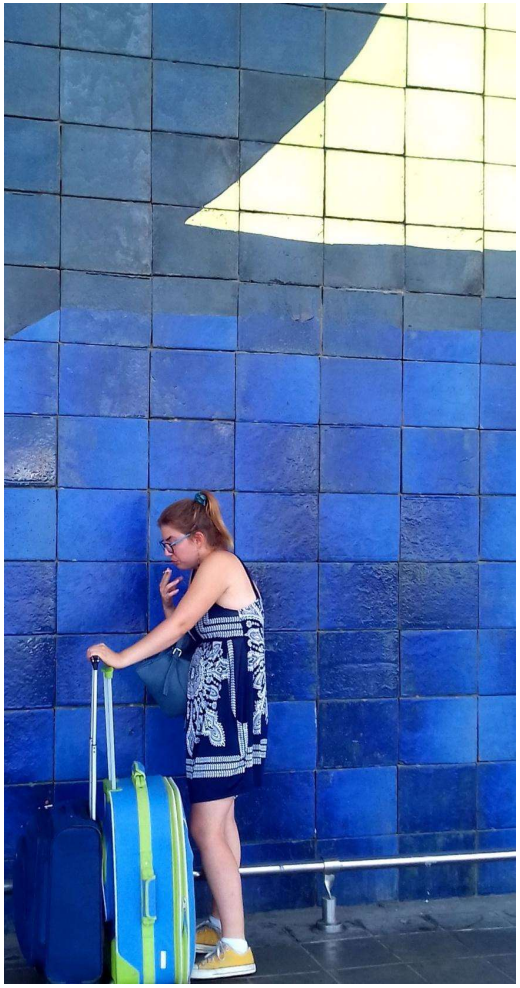


fig.17

fig.18

ENDNOTES

1.Editorial Cobalto - publishing house specialised in art founded on 12 June 1947 in Barcelona. It was an initiative of the journalist, draughtsman and poet Josep Maria Junoy. Rafael Santos Torroella (the surrealist painter Àngeles Santos brother), and his wife, María Teresa Bermejo, signed the foundation contract as deputy director and secretary respectively. It was a private civil society responsible for publishing the magazine *Cobalto, Arte antiguo y moderno* [Cobalto, Antique and Modern Art] aimed at the aristocracy and the upper middle class. They were monographic issues, distributed in fascicles, with the aim of confronting Franco's refusal to authorise the publication of magazines. The first hundred copies were entirely covered by the subscription of the members. The rest of the print run was distributed in specialised bookshops. In 1947, three books were published, corresponding to the first volume: *The Landscape, the Portrait and Turner*. In 1948, Josep Maria Junoy left the publishing house and Rafael Santos Torroella took over the editorship, which meant a radical change in the magazine's orientation towards avant-garde art: one of the first ones to focus on post-war modern art. Cobalto lost a large part of the upper middle-class sector that had hitherto subsidised the magazine, but, in its place, a group from the former ADLAN (Amics de l'Art Nou: 1932-1936) collective approached the new direction. The merger between the publishing house and this group led to the founding of the association *Cobalto 49*. The founding members were Rafael Santos Torroella and Maria Teresa Bermejo, on behalf of the publishing house, and Joan Prats, Joaquim Gomis, Sixt Illescas and Eudald Serra, on behalf of ADLAN. The aim of the organisation was to promote contemporary art. However, in 1949, Alexandre Cirici, a member of the association, published a bulletin in Catalan without the authorisation of Rafael Santos Torroella, who blamed the political context and his previous history of disagreement with the regime for rejecting the use of the Catalan language. As a result of this linguistic controversy, Rafael Santos Torroella and Maria Teresa Bermejo abandoned the project. The publisher Cobalto (1947-1953) keep publishing the fascicles of *Cobalto 49* and their first issue was published on the occasion of the exhibition of Joan Miró at the Galeries Layetanas. The second issue dealt on the Miniatures and Portraits by Goya, and the third issue on the School of Altamira, founded by the Argentinian born Italian artist Lucio Fontana and others. In 1950, Alexandre Cirici and Joan Prats, reorganised the association and led the new *Club 49* project. Cobalto ceased its activities on 1st October 1953.

2. The Spanish Pavilion at the 1937 *Paris Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques dans la Vie Moderne* – it became the Second Republic's most visible and widely publicized announcement of the humanizing role of art against rising violence, both in Spain and the rest of Europe. The architecture design by Josep Lluís Sert and Luis Lacasa stood in direct contrast to the intimidating monumentality of the Soviet and German Pavilions that were staged face-to-face, in direct confrontation, nearby. Pablo Picasso's Guernica was the Pavilion's most famous commissioned work; however, it was not the only piece to manifest the complexities of balancing experimentation in the arts with political commitment. Other works by Pablo Picasso as his etchings *Sueño y Mentira de Franco* (Franco's Dream and Lie, 1937), were also accompanied by *La Montserrat* (1937) by Julio González and *Fuente de Mercurio* (1937) by Alexander Calder, originally conceived to show the production of Spanish mercury in the mines of Almadén. Other works by José Gutiérrez Solana, Alberto Sánchez, Horacio Ferrer, Rodríguez Luna, Ramón Gaya, Miguel Prieto, Ramón Puyol… and others, some of them anonymous, were featured (among them there are three names of woman artists which fell into oblivion; Anna Aguilera Gassol, Francisca Barlozzi and Juana Francisca de Berdasano). There was also a great selection of Basque paintings from artists such as Aurelio Arteta, Julián de Tellaeche, Darío de Regoyos, Ramón de Zubiaurre, José Arrúe and Bernardino Bienabe. The art works were accompanied by some of the traditional suits from the Museo del Pueblo Español worn in Paris, which made up part of the folk-art section, together with a collection of ceramics and numerous photos, informational panels and explanatory photomontages. The Pavilion was designed to function as a platform for the complex interweaving of architecture, painting, illustration, photography, propaganda and the popular arts. With the prominent use of photography through the panels designed by the artist and the government Fine Arts Director Josep Renau, a script was laid from start to finish to guide visitors through a tour of republican Spain that highlighted the positive role of culture, education and popular traditions in countering the devastating effects of the Civil War. Because of the war, the pavilion was not able to open on the 25th of May as the other ones, it opened on the 12th of July instead. Part of the people involved in its realization and public programme (even traditional folk dances from different regions of Spain were programmed) were taken from the Spanish battlefields to Paris.

3. Antoni Tàpies. *Memoria personal. Fragmento para una auto-biografia* (Barcelona: Seix Barral Editions), 1983 (1977), pp.376-377. Quoted in: Jorge Luís Marzo. *Art modern I franquisme. Els orígens conservadors de l'avantguarda I de la política artística a l'Estat Espanyol* (Girona: Fundació Espais d'Art Contemporani. Spaces for the Art Critique Award Collection), 2007, pp.52-53.

4. Jacques Dupin (1927, Privas, Ardèche – 2012, Paris) - French poet and art critic. In 1966, he co-founded the poetry quarterly L'Éphémère. He was the director of publications at Galerie Maeght, which represented Joan Miró. By then, the gallery also represented Marc Chagall, Alberto Giacometti, Francis Bacon and Wassily Kandinsky. Dupin wrote Miró's biography, numerous monographs on the artist's work, and was empowered by Miró's family to be the sole authenticating authority of the artist's work; a role that made him much sought after by collectors. In 1968, Dupin edited the catalogue of Miró solo show at Maeght Foundation in Saint-Paul-de-Vence (South of France), also built by the architect Josep Lluís Sert (C.I.A.M and G.A.T.P.A.C. member). This show opened just before '*Miro's Show*' in Barcelona and most of its works travelled to the Catalan capital. In 1987, Dupin was the curator of a retrospective of Miró's work at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, the first such retrospective in New York since 1959. Since 2013, Joan Miró Foundation Library has been known as the Jacques Dupin Library in tribute to him, who was also Miró's friend and a member of the Fundació Joan Miró Board of Trustees. His publications also include numerous monographs on Miró and the catalogue raisonné of his paintings.

5.*Painting on white background for the cell of a recluse* - triptych painted in May 1968 and later gifted by Miró to the Barcelona City Council. It is currently displayed at the Fundació Joan Miró in Barcelona as part of its permanent collection.

6. La Capella last open call: https://www.lacapella.barcelona/en/barcelona-produccio-2022-2023.

7. Manuel Fraga Iribarne - appointed minister of information and tourism in 1962, he sat until 1969 in Franco's Council of Ministers. They were years in which the regime repressed with ruthless violence the mining strikes in Asturias; the student revolts in the universities of Madrid and Barcelona; denied the poet Luis Cernuda to return to Spain to attend his mother's funeral; the Tribunal de Orden Público (Public Order Tribunal), which played a key role in the repression of workers and political activists) was set up; intellectuals such as Enrique Tierno Galván and Luis López Aranguren were purged of their professorships at the University; Marcelino Camacho, leader of the CCOO, was arrested; in the early hours of 20 April 1963, the regime shot the communist leader Julián Grimau, convicted of a crime of "continued military rebellion" and shot in less than 72 hours as an order by the The Spanish Council of War and The Council of Ministers, where Fraga sat. Also, in the summer of 1963, the anarchists Francisco Granado and Joaquín Delgado were murdered by garrotte vile, among many other repressive actions. He would be dismissed as minister in 1969 after the so-called *Matesa case* (corruption case with him in office). But his was simply a 'see you later' as he returned to the Council of Ministers, as Interior Minister between December 1975 and July 1976, within the government of Carlos Arias Navarro as Vice-President of the Government.

8. The newspaper El Correo Catalán, published on 19 November 1968, reported that Miró did not turn up to his opening following doctor's orders, yet others interpreted his absence as his way of avoiding the political authorities. A few days later, on 30 November 1968, the newspaper El Noticiero Universal covered Miró's attendance and emphasised the visit of 3,000 children to the exhibition. The article was illustrated with a photograph of the 75-year-old artist happily surrounded by youngsters from nearby schools.

9. The Spanish Constitution establishes three degrees of state of emergency (alarm, emergency and siege). The state of emergency is popularly known as “Estado de excepción”, which literally translates as “state of exception [al circumstances]”.

10. *Carmen* - is the second part of the first chapter of this MPhil tittled Mourning from the Black Spain, through which I discovered that the last music I performed in a synchronised swimming competition was titled ‘Que se passe-t-il donc là-bas?', ‘What's going on down there?’ in English from French, and corresponds to the 8th scene within the First Act of George Bizet’s (1838-1875) opera ‘Carmen’. The massive choral buzzing at the beginning of the piece comes from the voices of the gypsy cigar manufacturers in Sevilla, claiming help to the soldiers outside the factory through its gate as a brutal fight was going on inside. I also explain how, in order to contextually learn about Carmen, we need to return to the tobacco factory history after its closing during the Peninsular War; it reopened in 1813 only with the female workforce to accommodate the changing fashion for imbibing tobacco to all kinds of cigars and cigarettes. The imposing building and its regime became famous internationally, even becoming illustrated in several of Dore’s engravings to depict Baron Charles Devillier’s L’Espagne (1874), revealing, as does the opera (the book was published only some months before the opera premiered), the moment when the factory bell marks the workers entrances and exits, twenty years before the birth of film with ‘Workers Leaving the Lumière Factory in Lyon’ (1895).

11. three paintings oil and acrylic on canvas of 195x130cm: *Uncatchable Star*, *Hair Pursued by two Planets* & *Words of the poet*; a painting oil and acrylic on canvas of 280x91cm.: *The Song of the Vowels*; A triptych, oil and acrylic paint and video-animation on three canvas of 210x276cm.: *Blue I*, *II* & *III*; a triptych, oil and acrylic paint and video-animation on three canvas of 210x276cm.: *Mural Painting for the cell of a solitary I*,*II* & *III*/ Three colour digital photos from my mobile phone printed on an aluminium dibond: *Bird's Flight in Moonlight*, of 208x104cm., *Figure in front of the sun*, of 139x208cm., and *Silence*, of 139x195cm.; a video-animation in a monitor of 985.5 X 574.8 mm. (it works with any 16/9): *Catalan Peasant in the Moonlight*; a group of ten ceramic objects of different sizes.

12. Joaquim Gomis - first president of Miró Foundation from 1972 until 1975. Before, he had been founding member of *Cobalto 49* (see endnote nº1) and the group of artists and intellectuals known as ADLAN (Amics de l'Art Nou [Friends of New Art], 1932-36), founded by Gomis together with the architect Josep Lluís Sert and art entrepreneur Joan Prats, introducing modern art to the Barcelona of the 1930s, during the years of the Spanish Republic; while in major European cities avant-garde movements had the support of critics and collectors, ADLAN enthusiastic impetus sought to regenerate Catalan culture adopting Joan Miró as its leader in the promotion of new art. Among their activities, they organised exhibitions of Pablo Picasso, Salvador Dalí, Joan Miró and Alexander Calder. Remedios Varo and Benjamin Péret, participated in ADLAN including the famous exhibition *Logicofobista*. Joaquim Gomis, as a great photographer and entrepreneur, together with Joan Prats and from 1952, started publishing a collection of photobooks which they called *Fotoscops*. One of them was dedicated to Miró’s retrospective at Barcelona’s old Hospital de la Santa Creu and it is one of its very few documentations in colour. This specific *fotoscop* was titled *Joan Miró. Fotoscop Llenguatge Visual*, and it was published in Barcelona by Poligrafa (Ed.) in 1970. James Johnson Sweeney contributed with a text, the photos were taken by Joaquim Gomis and Català-Roca, and the photo sequency was selected by Joan Prats.

13. *From Miró Year (1968) to the Donation Inventory:* https://www.lacapella.barcelona/en/miro-year-1968-donation-inventory

14. Images from the newspapers El Correo Catalán (1876-1985), Diario de Barcelona (1792-2009), Tele/eXprés (1964-1980), El Noticiero Universal (1888-1985) and Solidaridad Nacional (1939-1979).

15. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe titled *Part I* of his *Theory of Colours* (Goethe, 1810) *‘Physiological Colors’*. It maintains the metaphysical Aristotelian paradigm, and takes into account the way colour is subjectively perceived: ‘They are called *colores adventicii* by Boyle; *imaginarii* and *phantastici* by Rizetti; by Buffon, *couleurs accidentelles*; by Scherfer, *scheinfarben* (apparent colours); *ocular illusions* and *deceptions of sight* by many; by Hamberger, *vitia fugitiva*; by Darwin, *ocular spectra*’ (Goethe Johann Wolfgang von. *Theory of Colours*. London: John Murray,1940, p.1.). Newton physics were unable to explain the existence of those imaginary colors, and it is not surprising that Goethe’s *tractaise* starts with their study. He explains how Buffon, in 1743, made an important discovery: if one stares at a little red square on a white sheet of paper, a light green crown appears around the square. If we stop looking at the red square to look at the white paper, we see very distinctly a bluish-green square, which is purely imaginary, exists objectively. It exists for the eye. Everybody, under standard conditions, can perceive it. (Lichtenstein, Jaqueline. *In the Blind Spot: An essay on the Relations between Painting and Sculpture in the Modern Age*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008, p174). Also, the Flemish painter Jacob Huysmans talks about Delacroix ‘great lesson’ stating that he only not taught painters how to make light with colours, but also how to paint the ‘absent color’ of the palette. This absent color does not exist on the canvas or in the palette but it is nevertheless perceived by the viewer. It’s not a painted color but a color that exists only in the viewer’s perception, produced by the contrast and proximity of two colors-similar to what scientists called subjective color in the same period. (Lichtenstein, Jaqueline. Modern Color. in GRAW, ISABELLE and EWA LAJER-BURCHARTH, EWA (Eds.): Painting beyond Itself: The Medium in the Post-medium Condition, MIT Press, Sternberg Press / Institut für Kunstkritik series, Berlin, 2016. p74.).

fig.18

CONCLUSION

The Trace of the Democratic Creature is a practice-led research project that is based on three exercises of artistic re-enactment that I have carried out in relation to artistic events held by other artists in the past; which have been analysed throughout this thesis. In chronological order, ***Mourning for The Black Spain*** is focused on the artist book *Black Spain,* written by the Belgian poet Emile Verhaeren and edited and illustrated by the Spanish painter Dario de Regoyos in 1888. It deals with the cultural symptoms at the turn of the nineteenth century and the prelude to modernity (Chapter I). ***Rehearsal for Deep Song*** is focused on Martha Graham's *Deep Song,* her last solo dance in homage to the victims of the Spanish Civil War, performed in 1937 and considered a pioneer example of modern dance (Chapter II). ***Children's Game*** is centred around *Miro's Show,* the first institutional retrospective of the painter in Barcelona, his hometown, in 1968, during the years of a kind of democratic period of lactation, in which a new political system was growing and about to emerge (Chapter III). In practical terms, it works as a bridge towards this conclusion.

I started this MPhil knowing that I wanted to be a mother, a decision that led me to read lots of Winnicott. Transitions are about leaving things behind in order to start new ones; some things need to die, allowing thus the birth of others, promoting transformation. ***Mourning for The Black Spain*** is concerned with dealing with things that are about to end, ***Rehearsal for Deep Song*** is about social traumatic events (war) that we need to digest, and ***Children's Game*** offers a study of things we use, tools we encounter, in order to grow and mature. One clear conclusion of my research is that there is a maternal vocabulary that allows us to understand history and help us to evolve within it. Again, when approaching and analysing early democracies and their development, we can easily talk about a "lactation period", a time that society needs to go through, but also overcome, get away from the "comfort" it guarantees, with its "pros and cons", accepting instability and the risks of going through what can be compared, in social terms, to political transitions. When the breastfeeding period comes to its end, the child feels restless, just like societies experience collective anxiety during political transitions.

The painter Joan Miró is in the iconographic subconscious of Spanish society, with whom, all of us, even those not in the professional art world, have a strong bond. His abstract imagery has allowed us to conceive new possible worlds and overcome whatever mess so as to be able to look forward. Let us speculate. What if, in this case, we identify the mother with the authoritarian regime (a relentless dictatorship with a role that has to be overcome) and Miró becomes its transitional object, can we extrapolate these dynamics to the artworks and cultural events which have marked political upheavals and paradigm shifts? Franco's regime did not end suddenly (we still often sense it sometimes) and democracies cannot be established overnight, even elections are sometimes a proof of that…, in between, there are all sorts of struggles, gestures, words, songs, artworks, which can act as "transitional objects", in that similar way in which D. J. Winnicott talks about them, as discussed in Chapter III. However, and here comes the problem, the much-appreciated transitional object, according to Winnicott, needs to be abandoned at some point in order to follow the supposed "sane" developmental process. What happens when the child keeps the object that impedes him or her to mature and expected growth is interrupted? And, in addition, what happens when we need to face a socially immature system which, unable to solve and manage any problem, complication, dilemma or dispute through dialogue, threatens to break down at any moment?

Winnicott's transitional object is a sedative, which needs to be abandoned. We could conclude also that, in Spain, aesthetically, the sedative has been an overdose of Abstract Painting, which

remains applicable and effective today. And that cultural amnesia has been too useful for a system that is unable to solve the problems that it inherited from the past.

The political commitment of some abstract modern art has only worked for a minority of intellectuals. Contrary to academic tradition and unlike most political art, abstraction could always be thought to be beyond ideology, assuming a modern condition (highly appreciated in international exhibitions) and linking itself to the great Spanish pictorial tradition, from Velázquez to Goya. It was this that led abstract painting into the role of being the official art of Franco's Spain. All this took place within that framework of radical separation between culture and politics that took place in the West after 1945, which allowed the spectacular survival of the regime.[1] The analysis of exhibition policies, criticism and historiography of abstract art in post-war Spain shows us that Informalism was considered a main artistic movement and that it was, moreover, understood as a synthesis of the Spanish artistic traditions.

This is why now we need to re-enact, actualize, re-conceptualize and shed light onto certain past episodes, using the different strategies that, for instance, psychoanalysis makes available to us, in order to be more concrete about what has really happened. As I mention at the end of the introduction, the movement to keep interlacing isolated lost images triggers a process that proposes a dimension of a psychoanalytical event in which change can unleash a sequence of re-enactments that rearrange the present to be able to evolve further. But, very often, this is a complex task for the artist that tries to make public these types of re-enactments, as it can be uncomfortable at a personal level and, more broadly, also deemed socially uncomfortable. At the same time, art institutions are not always prepared to embrace it. It is no coincidence that consecrated art figures dealing with memory and historical painting today (for example, Marlene Dumas, Luc Tuymans, and Wilhelm Sasnal) have shown very little of their work in Spain, and that there is, certainly, an absence of successful Spanish painters committed to depicting historical memory or engaging with the imaginary of the recent past. We see a younger generation of neo-conceptual artists effectively addressing such issues (Nuria Güell, Daniela Ortiz, Ignasi Prat, for example), but not through painting, as I have tried to do in this MPhil (even if presented as trans-media exercises). Being still perceived as the most traditional and conservative media, it seems that, in Spain, painting is unable to be used as a tool to revitalise and address the conflicted past and that its role should be relegated to other mediums. At the same time, as an accepted popular media, painting is what I feel can guarantee a degree of effectiveness in terms of challenging established historical doctrine. Indeed, this could be another conclusion.

As highlighted above and throughout this thesis, this research is based on artistic re-enactments of artistic events held by other artists in the past. This project is my way to reflect about them, and to draw them forward and re-activate them in the present. All have in common a deeply focused historical research and an extensive exploration of all kinds of archives of different natures, from original publications through to oral testimonies, which shed light and provide new information about those past art events that form part of the historical symptomatology of modern culture in Spain. I conceive this information as part of our social unconscious. The final conclusion would be that, in order to make these re-enactments effective, the art institution needs to properly and professionally take care of the setting in which these re-thinkings take place, not just to be a better art museum, but to try, aware of its possibilities, to do as Winnicott's 'good enough mother' would do with her creature.

1. Díaz Sánchez, Julián. 'The Idea of Abstract Art in Franco's Spain'. Ensayos Arte Cátedra. Ediciones Cátedra. Madrid, 2013.

2. The phrase "the good enough mother" was coined by the British paediatrician and psychoanalyst D. W. Winnicott in his paper "Transitional Objects and Transitional Phenomena", subtitled "A study of the first not-me possession" (1953), which opens his influential and popular book Playing and Reality (1971). In page thirteen of its Routledge Edition (2005), he states: 'The good enough 'mother' (not necessarily the infant's own mother) is one who makes active adaptation to the infant's needs, an active adaptation that gradually lessens, according to the infant's growing ability to account for failure of adaptation and to tolerate the results of frustration. Naturally the infant's own mother is more likely to be good enough than some other person, since this active adaptation demands an easy and unresented preoccupation with the one infant; in fact, success in infant-care depends on the fact of devotion, not on cleverness or intellectual enlightenment.'

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